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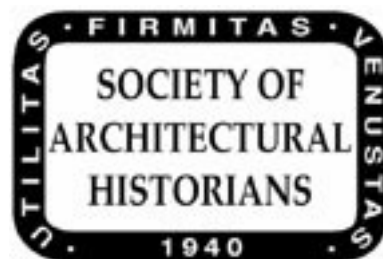
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The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa

Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909

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Christ comes to one man in one way, and to another in another;
and, as He comes to individuals, so also to nations.¹

—Chauncy Maples, bishop of Likoma, 1882

In December 1856 the explorer and missionary David Livingstone returned to Britain from his celebrated expedition through Central Africa. He declared that he had found there—in the Zambezi River valley, east of Victoria Falls—a land of immense opportunity: a land that would flow with milk and honey if only Britain would see fit to develop its resources.² His plea, of course, was not merely economic, but spiritual, too. If the benighted environs of tropical Africa were to join the brotherhood of civilized nations, Livingstone believed, then “commerce and Christianity” would have to enter them together.³

It was out of this first heroic venture that came the idea for a “universities’ mission” to Central Africa. In his much publicized address at the University of Cambridge in December 1857, Livingstone reminded those gathered of their wider responsibilities with respect to education. More important still, he added, was that they avoid making the same mistake as “when we carried commerce into India, in being ashamed of our Christianity.” Livingstone’s underlying message about the plight of the peoples of the Central African basin was both shocking and inspirational, striking a chord with the Christian sensibilities of those assembled.⁴ Shortly afterward the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa was formed, including Cambridge, Oxford, Durham,

and Trinity College Dublin. Although the mission’s intention was to promote economic development, its main aim was to plant the “Cross of Christ” in the heart of Africa. This was desirable not least because the moral energy of the church was considered essential to the abolition of the East African slave trade. The awareness of the shameful evil of slavery gave the idea for a mission added impetus.⁵ If the mid-Victorian generation were powerless to undo the misdemeanors of their forefathers with respect to slavery, they were not going to stand by and allow it to continue when there was both the opportunity and obligation to end it.⁶

The history of the UMCA is now familiar.⁷ The same, however, cannot be said of its architecture. Almost nothing is known about the built heritage of this unique and inspired Anglican enterprise. It operated not only beyond the official limits of Britain’s empire in Africa but also at the intersection of three broadly distinct cultures—sub-Saharan African, South Asian, and Arabic.⁸ Confronted by diverse political contexts, severe environmental conditions, and extreme isolation, the UMCA was forced to re-evaluate its strategy constantly. As a consequence, its architecture is a remarkable and near unparalleled manifestation of the changing face of Anglican missionary practice during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In fact, the missionary tactics developed by the UMCA from the time of Bishop W. G. Tozer onward presented a direct challenge to the conventional “civilizational” approach adopted by most European missions at the time. Instead of focusing on



Figure 1 Edward Steere and C. F. Hayward, Christ Church cathedral ("Slave Market Church"), Stone Town, Zanzibar, 1873–80

the body, insisting on the need to "Westernize" the peoples of the African interior, UMCA clergymen emphasized the soul, seeking to instill first and foremost the fundamental precepts of Christianity and, once these had taken root, encouraging the development of a "native church and ministry." This, as Jerome Moriyama has observed, was a policy based on a distinct "vernacular" principle which sought to incorporate rather than destroy indigenous culture.⁹

The location and unconventional practices of the UMCA pose a methodological problem. Because the work of the mission was conducted outside official British territory, the political circumstances surrounding the history of its architecture do not bear easy comparison with those of either the colonial episcopate in Southern Africa or episcopates in other British colonial territories.¹⁰ From the very beginning the UMCA prided itself on being a fully independent church in the Anglican tradition, and its relative isolation meant that for some time it was essentially unaffected by the coercive forces of imperial politics.¹¹ It is this in part that gave the UMCA the confidence to pursue its own missionary agenda, free from colonial interference. Indeed, as Sara

Sohmer has noted in relation to Bishop Patteson's mission to Melanesia in the 1860s, an analysis of UMCA policy prompts a reassessment of the assumption that Victorian missions (and their architecture) uniformly reflected the paternalism, aggressiveness, and sense of superiority typical of Western attitudes toward the non-European world.¹²

The Universities' Mission was small compared to other mission organizations operating in Central Africa at the time, most notably the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society, but it managed to produce a species of Anglican ecclesiology far more subtle and distinctive in its composite and regional character.¹³ Its buildings were caught somewhere between instinctive High Anglican historicism and a desire to adapt spatial and material forms to particular situations. This led the UMCA to create an ecclesiastical architecture that was liturgically conservative yet formally unorthodox, including everything from *chiwali* (Raffia palm) chapels to spectacular hybrid cathedrals (Figure 1). This architectural variety, in conjunction with a desire to overcome conventional missionary tactics, distinguished the UMCA among British missions.

A variety of church buildings were produced by the UMCA during the period between its inauguration in 1861 and the completion of St. Peter's cathedral, Likoma Island (Lake Malawi), in 1909. The designs evince the attitudes toward architectural form and space adopted by the mission, and now they were shaped by the prevailing cultural, political, and environmental conditions in which it operated, including its own theological position. As a largely independent, self-governing organization in the best Tractarian tradition, the Universities' Mission imagined itself reinvigorating the missionary traditions of the early Church. This ancient model proved central in the UMCA's deployment of architecture to achieve its vernacular ideal. The diverse architectural work of Church of England missions was a consequential part of Anglican church architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Without this missionary dimension, no history of Anglican ecclesiology can be complete.¹⁴

The First Phase: Foundations, Frustration, and Failure

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa did not have an auspicious beginning. From the moment the mission party arrived at the mouth of the Zambezi River in February 1861, things started to go wrong. The difficulties faced by the UMCA in its first phase of operation must be appreciated if its architectural response is to be fully understood.

The mission was chaperoned initially by Livingstone himself. He was one of few Britons who knew the region sufficiently to escort the party safely to their station in the Shiré Highlands, one-hundred miles south of Lake Nyasa (Malawi). The missionaries, headed by their first bishop, the uncomplicated yet high-minded Charles Frederick Mackenzie (1825–62), believed they were to take the Zambezi River up to its juncture with the Shiré River, and then progress north.

But Livingstone had other ideas. Owing to his deep distrust of the Portuguese (who controlled much of the traffic on the Zambezi), he believed that the mission (and, by extension, the British) needed to find an alternative route to the Shiré Highlands. The only viable option, it seemed, was the Rovuma River, 450 miles to the north. However, the Rovuma turned out to be a dead end, and several weeks were wasted attempting to navigate it. It was not until 1 May 1861, nearly three months after the party had arrived off the coast of Africa to begin their enterprise, that they entered the Zambezi.

But worse was to come. Progress was extremely slow, even negligible. The sand bars of the Zambezi were such that at one point the expedition advanced less than twelve

miles in twenty-four days—the great “highway” being far from what Livingstone had led the missionaries (and the British public) to believe.¹⁵ On 8 July, after several weeks' arduous journey amid increasingly intolerable conditions, the mission party arrived at the village of the Mang'anja (*Nyasa*) chief, Chibisa, 120 miles up the Shiré River in what is now Malawi. Here they remained for a time to regroup and plant their first, albeit temporary mission outpost. They did not stay for long. Less than a week later Mackenzie (with crosier in hand), Livingstone, and several others, set off on the final push into the highlands. After four days climbing through the steep, mountainous terrain north of Chibisa, they reached the peninsula of Magomero, some 3,000 feet above sea level. It was here, amid the cool, mist-laden highlands of Central Africa, in the village of the Mang'anja chief Chigunda, that the UMCA established its first permanent settlement.¹⁶ Although there was no predicting the difficulties that lay ahead, Mackenzie and his colleagues could begin thinking about architecture.

As a Tractarian-inspired enterprise, it is not surprising that “externals,” including architecture, figured prominently among the UMCA's priorities. Indeed, this concern was in evidence as early as Mackenzie's consecration as bishop in January 1861. Conducted in the cathedral of St. George the Martyr, Cape Town, this event was an affirmation of the mission's organizational structure. Quoting from *Ephesians* (2:19–22), the cathedral's dean, Henry Alexander Douglas (1821–1875), observed that the significance of Mackenzie's consecration was obvious enough: that through the apostolic succession envisaged by St. Paul, mankind could behold in Christ's prophets “a lively image of the Church as a beautiful and everlasting temple.”¹⁷ This reference to the idea of Christianity as a firm and enduring edifice clearly had wide and profound implications with respect to the Universities' Mission. From its inception the UMCA prided itself on re-creating a model of the primitive church based on firm ecclesiastical discipline, and Douglas's reference to the church as an “edifice” was intended to reinforce the notion that the Anglican Church was above all an episcopal church whose bishops were essential to the stability of its structure.¹⁸

But Douglas's words carried deeper connotations still. The idea of Christ, his apostles, and their followers as the “living stones” of the church also implied their material counterpart—actual buildings. Indeed, Douglas's Tractarian credentials had already found architectural expression in his careful restoration of the church at Abbotsley in his previous living near Ely.¹⁹ His persistent reference to “building” at Mackenzie's consecration was no coincidence. It recalled the increasing importance that had been placed on architecture in the Anglican tradition since the funda-



Figure 2 The UMCA mission station at Magomero (southern Malawi), published in Harvey Goodwin, *Memoirs of Bishop Mackenzie* (Cambridge, 1865). The incomplete church of St. Paul is shown far right. The huts depicted in this illustration, with their conical roofs, were typical of indigenous domestic dwellings in the Shiré River valley and highlands at the time

mental reforms in theology and liturgy brought about by the Oxford Movement in the 1830s.

In fact, the episcopal nature of the Universities' Mission was one of its most definitive characteristics. As it operated outside the limits of official British territory, it was autonomous by definition. The issue of identity in this context was central. From the very beginning the UMCA had been likened to St. Augustine of Canterbury's great missionary expedition to the British Isles in the sixth century. Direct parallels were drawn between the UMCA's aims and aspirations and those of Augustine, as if it were a direct extension (and rightful inheritor) of that enterprise. Indeed, the Shiré Highlands were imagined as the mission's Canterbury, and the tribes thereabout as its Anglo-Saxons.²⁰ Such an association brought with it not only a specific reference to Augustinian precedent but also a distinct disciplinary agenda based on the most fundamental and primitive ancient church customs, including architecture.²¹

The idea that architecture would play a basic symbolic role in expressing Anglican faith was fundamental to Mackenzie's outlook.²² Although much privation and many early setbacks were suffered by the UMCA, its goal of promoting "correct" and worthy church architecture was never abandoned. Before the mission party erected any permanent structure at Magomero, they used what was described as a "large church-tent, well furnished and appointed."²³ By October 1861 they had started work on their first permanent church, St. Paul's. Shortly afterward Mackenzie was able to write home describing the laying of the foundations in detail: "After service I went to Scudamore [H. C. Scudamore, clergyman of the mission] to peg out the ground for our church. We had arranged to set up the first post on this

day. Accordingly, we laid out the site, making a chancel 30 x 15 to be built first, and a nave 60 x 25 or 30 to come when we need it. . . . We have called the church by the name of the great Missionary Apostle [St. Paul]."²⁴

The seriousness and solemnity that surrounded this event set the tone for future architectural developments. Despite the problems facing the mission, it is clear that Mackenzie and his men were prepared to go out of their way to ensure that this first manifestation of the church of Christ in Central Africa was proper and worthy in every respect (Figure 2).²⁵

St Paul's, however, was never completed. In April 1862 the UMCA withdrew from Magomero and the Shiré Highlands altogether. Since their arrival, the area had been plagued by internecine warfare, famine, and tropical disease. The mission had managed to assemble a small group of freed slaves as the basis of their community, but the station was never entirely secure. The situation had deteriorated to such an extent by July 1861 that Mackenzie and his colleagues were forced to take up arms against the marauding Achawa (*Yao*) tribesmen who were preparing to attack the station, capture their followers, and sell them back into slavery.²⁶ Not surprisingly, when news reached Britain that the missionaries had used firearms to defend themselves, they were heavily criticized.²⁷ As it happened, Mackenzie would never find himself in such a predicament again, for he was dead three months later, having succumbed to the ravages of fever.

The mission was now in disarray. Having lost their bishop and leader, the remainder of the party retreated to Chibisas to await instructions. Here, too, they built a small chapel. As the watercolor sketches of Charles Meller illus-



Figure 3 Charles Mellor, watercolor sketch of Chibisas village (Malawi) showing the UMCA chapel (center left), 1863

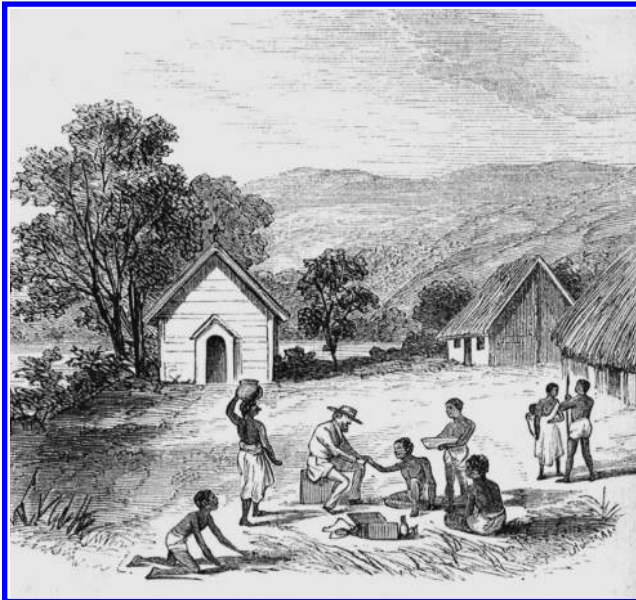


Figure 4 Printed version of Mellor's sketch published in Henry Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (London, 1866). Note how the missionaries are also shown doing something useful in this version, in this case dispensing Western medicine

trate, this was a very simple structure, made from indigenous building materials such as unsawn timbers and elephant grass thatch (Figure 3). Despite this, it manifested a churchlike appearance, with steeply pitched roof and western porch.²⁸ The mission's ecclesiastical buildings could be small to begin with because it was UMCA policy not to allow un-baptized persons to partake in divine service.

Interestingly, although indigenous labor and know-how was clearly involved in the construction of this chapel,

when Henry Rowley reproduced Mellor's image some years later in his *Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (1866), it was altered to show a neat weather-boarded structure that looked more at home in Canada or New Zealand than in tropical East Africa (Figure 4). To meet the expectations of a home audience, the chapel's local character was erased.²⁹ Rowley, who was perhaps the most sensitive and high-minded of the mission's clergymen, wished to present the activities and achievements of the UMCA in the best possible light. After all, he had dedicated (even risked) several years of his life to its cause.

In preparing his account, Rowley felt that enough about the mission's misfortunes and ill-conceived policies had been reported and did not extend the litany of self-criticism. Because a considerable amount of money had been donated in Britain on the assumption that the mission would civilize and cultivate the barbarous interior of Central Africa, Rowley avoided giving the slightest impression that it had failed to make significant progress in this regard, even though the British public was potentially sympathetic to the difficulties the mission had faced.

In describing the mission's architecture, Rowley was quick to point out that "our house-building . . . was beginning to tell. Good *substantial* huts and houses were being built on a *regular plan*, and Mogamera [*sic*] was losing its uncivilised appearance".³⁰ Thus, as Landeg White has observed, because the missionaries' buildings were distinguished by their orthogonal plans (the native huts were round), civilization was seen to begin by "squaring the circle."³¹

The most hallowed manifestation of this axiom in a Christian missionary outpost was the church. This essential architectural element had to symbolize and project order and "reasonable spirituality" in all its glory, thereby laying the foundation of civilized society. Rowley was aware that failure in this respect would cause consternation among the mission's home sponsors. With this in mind, he forged a mythic image of the UMCA by exploiting the gap between the expectations and reality of its accomplishments, thus conjuring an imaginary architecture in order to maintain the interest and sponsorship of his British supporters.

In May 1863 Mackenzie's replacement, William George Tozer (1829–1899), arrived at the mouth of the Zambezi. A staunch Tractarian, Tozer was keen to uphold the high church traditions established under Mackenzie's leadership.³² With Magomero and the Shiré Highlands now a lost cause, Tozer's first act was to remove the mission about one-hundred miles downstream to a place called Chicasamas, atop Mount Morambala (*Morumbala*) in what is now modern-day Mozambique. Here he attempted to re-establish the mission, describing it somewhat apprehensively as

a “new experiment.”³³ Chicamas was similar in many respects to Magomero, only it seemed more politically stable. It was relatively cool like Magomero, but prone to heavy mists that could last for half a day or more. Here, in what initially proved to be the “sanatorium” the mission had been looking for, the foundations of a more enduring architecture were to be laid. Part of the plan was to erect a substantial church, made not from ready-at-hand materials as in the case of St. Paul’s, but of solid brick.

In such a remote location, this ambition was quixotic, and, in the end, Tozer and his colleagues had no choice but to opt for local materials, just as Mackenzie had done at Magomero. Rowley’s insistence that the mission’s architecture was being built along “regular” and “substantial” lines also proved illusory. Although some of the buildings were laid out in the manner described by Rowley, a surviving plan of the station at Chicamas shows that most of the buildings were in fact built in the native “round style” (Figure 5).³⁴ Not the church, however. This building might appear to European eyes like “some poor cottager’s hay stack,” observed Tozer, but in the Morambala Highlands—where no “architecture” existed—it was both novel and imposing.³⁵ Indeed, work on the church advanced so rapidly that by October Tozer was able to write home that it promised “to look very well.” He added: “its east end is apsidal, and we have a screen to divide the building in half; the western place being for the heathen boys, and the eastern arranged as a choir for ourselves, the apse of course reserved for the altar”³⁶

Completed and opened in November 1863, the church at Morambala was both novel and impressive. A previously unknown sketch by Edward Steere shows that it was “neat” in every respect, despite being built almost entirely of bamboo and elephant grass (Figure 6).³⁷ The carved timber screen used to divide the church was an accomplished piece of craftsmanship, considering the conditions under which the mission’s carpenter worked. Its purpose was to demarcate the different zones of sanctity within the church, also emphasized by raising the floor level at the appropriate location. In his diary Tozer observed how, for the inaugural service, the east end was adorned with blue cloth, and the altar draped with a frontal donated by friends in England. A wooden corona, brass altar desk, and a set of crosses were used to enhance the effect.³⁸

The spatial configuration of the church at Morambala is significant. The division described by Tozer split the communal portion of the new church in two, creating a *naos* and *pronaos*.³⁹ This arrangement would have been regarded peculiar outside a high-church missionary context, perhaps being considered anomalous in even the highest of high-church dioceses elsewhere at this time. But as the UMCA clergymen

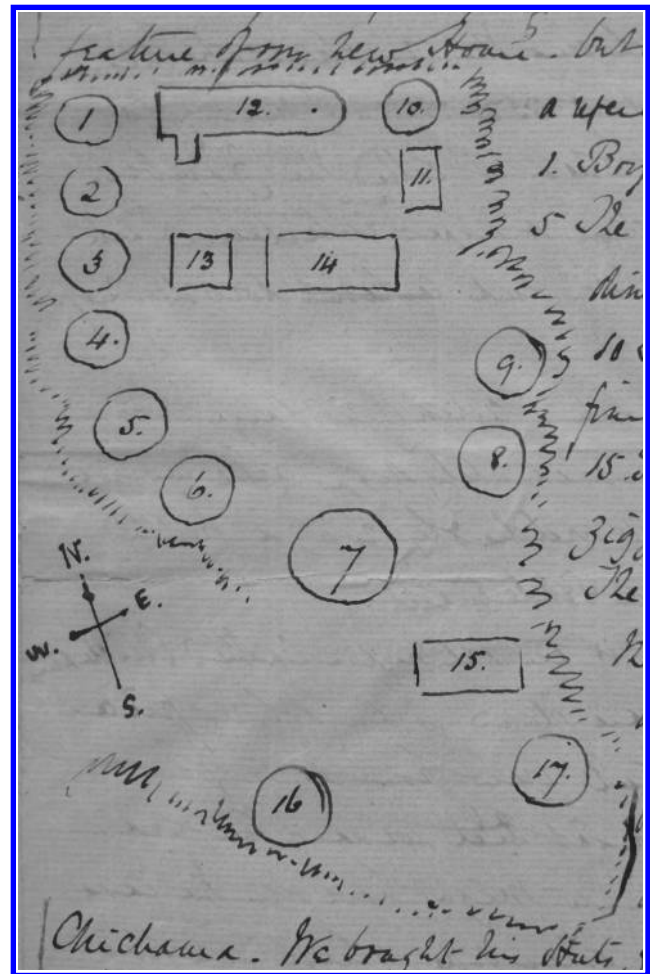


Figure 5 Sketch of the layout of the UMCA mission station at Morambala (Mozambique) showing relationship of the church (12) to other buildings, 1863

perceived themselves to be laboring amid circumstances akin to those of the early church fathers, they considered it apposite to resurrect an equally early or “primitive” spatial model to facilitate their preaching of the gospel. The “place for the heathen boys” in Tozer’s new church was effectively a narthex—a vestibule area used in early Christian architecture for disciplinary purposes, to accommodate catechumens (converts under instruction before baptism), and to segregate miscreants, including penitents, energumens (those possessed by the devil), and “inquirers.”⁴⁰ By creating such a space in his new church, Tozer enabled the catechumens to be beguiled by the spectacle of divine service, while withholding full communion.⁴¹

Given the mission’s strict observance of the hierarchies of sacred space and its policy regarding catechism of converts, the introduction of a liminal space such as a narthex



Figure 6 Edward Steere's sketches of the UMCA "grass" church at Chichamas, Morambala (Malawi), 1863. A sectional elevation of the dividing screen is shown at right

(or *pronaos*) was a logical expression of its self-fashioned missionary identity. The introduction of such a space was the clearest possible demonstration of the UMCA's historical and aesthetic commitment to Christian primitivism. Through this simple yet profound spatial division, the disciplinary ordinances of the Anglican faith were inscribed fully and unmistakably in the heart of Central Africa for the first time.

In the end, the Morambala Highlands turned out to be no less problematic than Mogamero. "While we have been free from any very severe sickness since coming to Morambala," lamented Tozer, "we have still had so much illness that all hopes of finding a 'sanatorium' and a refuge from fever long since disappeared." By August 1864 the Universities' Mission had pulled out of the Central African basin entirely and retreated to Zanzibar, ending the first, failed attempt of the Anglican Church to establish a mission there.

The architecture of this early phase, although very little is documented, illustrates the distinctly high-church character of the UMCA's buildings and offers the first hint of what would become a more considered, vernacular interpretation of the high-church Anglican tradition. The geographically isolated location of the mission, combined with the local pressures to which it was exposed, had begun to shape the manner in which the missionaries imagined their task. To be sure, UMCA clergymen carried with them ideas regarding architecture that would have been recognized in any other high-church colonial context at this time, but they were also aware that decisive, even radical adaptations would be needed if the mission was to flourish. This transformation was not necessarily perceived as a compromise. Rather, it was understood more as a form of development—the corollary in architectural theory of what would become the mission's evolved theology concerning the assimilation of indigenous rites and customs.⁴² This changing approach to missionary policy and architectural expression would characterize the subsequent activities of the UMCA, mark-

ing it as one of the most progressive Anglican missions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Retreat to Zanzibar: Re-formation and the Beginnings of the Vernacular Tradition

Bishop William Tozer's decision to retreat from the African interior to Stone Town on the island of Zanzibar was met with derision in England.⁴³ It was considered not only irresponsible but also a betrayal of the Christian missionary ethos. Ironically, in deciding to withdraw, the mission's appeal to Augustinian precedent was turned against it. Livingstone, for one, complained bitterly that "in fleeing from Morambala to an island in the Indian Ocean, [they] acted as St. Augustine would have done, had he located himself on one of the Channel Islands."⁴⁴ Others were even more pointed in their criticism. The bishop of Oxford, for example, warned that for the mission to pull out now would be to vindicate the taunt of the Roman Catholics that "the Church of England cannot maintain missions to the heathen unless they rest on the basis of English national power and civilization."⁴⁵

Such carping, of course, was easily made in the comfort of the vicarages and bishops' palaces of England. The reality was that very few understood either the context in which Tozer and his colleagues were laboring or the specific problems they faced. Even Livingstone, who knew better, was acting to deflect attention from what some had begun to claim was his misleading portrayal of the region's prospects in the first place.

But Tozer's reasons for choosing Zanzibar were both clear and logical. First and foremost, if the mission stayed on the mainland, it would be destroyed by disease. Secondly, as the region's principal entrepôt, Stone Town had extensive and long-standing trade links with the East African hinterland. If effective use could be made of these established channels of communication, great progress in Christianizing the inhabitants of Central Africa might be achieved.⁴⁶ And, finally, Stone Town was the main distribution point

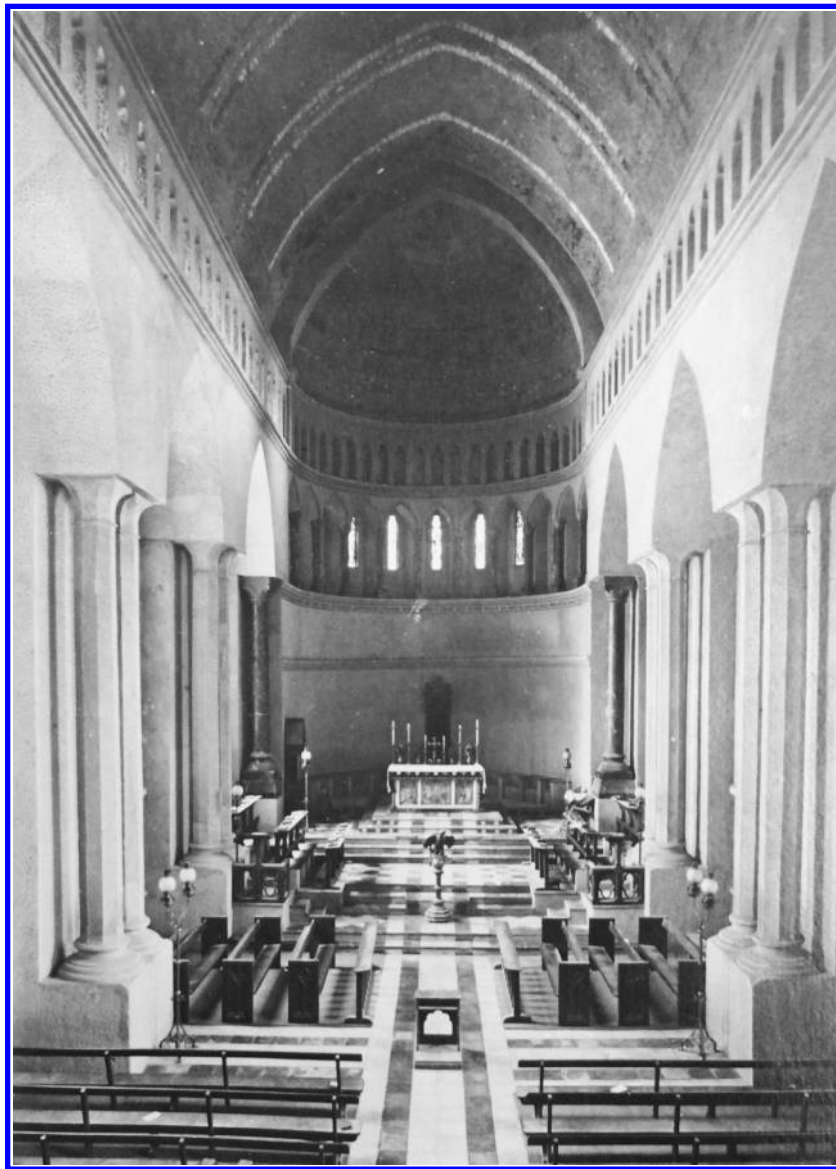


Figure 7 Interior of Christ Church cathedral, Zanzibar, 1873–80, in 1886

for slaves coming out of East Africa, as well as the abode of the sultan of Zanzibar: the one man who controlled the traffic in slaves, and the principal authority through which the UMCA might have it abolished.⁴⁷

In moving to Zanzibar Tozer and the remaining missionaries were able to regroup and reflect on their mainland experience. Perhaps the greatest lesson they had learned was the folly of attempting to “transport a little piece of English civilisation” to Central Africa.⁴⁸ As Mackenzie had already realized, it was they who would have to adapt to Africa, not the other way around. This realization had a profound affect on the mission’s architecture, and when Tozer and his colleagues reached Zanzibar their approach

toward church design would develop in a wholly new and more self-conscious way.

Zanzibar was not the most obvious location for a Christian mission. Despite its extensive trade links, it was an Arabic sultanate with a predominantly Muslim population. But this did not deter Tozer and his colleagues. From the moment they set foot on the island, they worked hard to re-establish the mission.

Architecturally, the UMCA set its sights high. Headed by a bishop, it necessarily required a cathedral. This ambition was realized in the so-called Slave Market Church, designed and built between 1873 and 1880 (Figure 7, see Figure 1). As its name suggests, this building was as much a

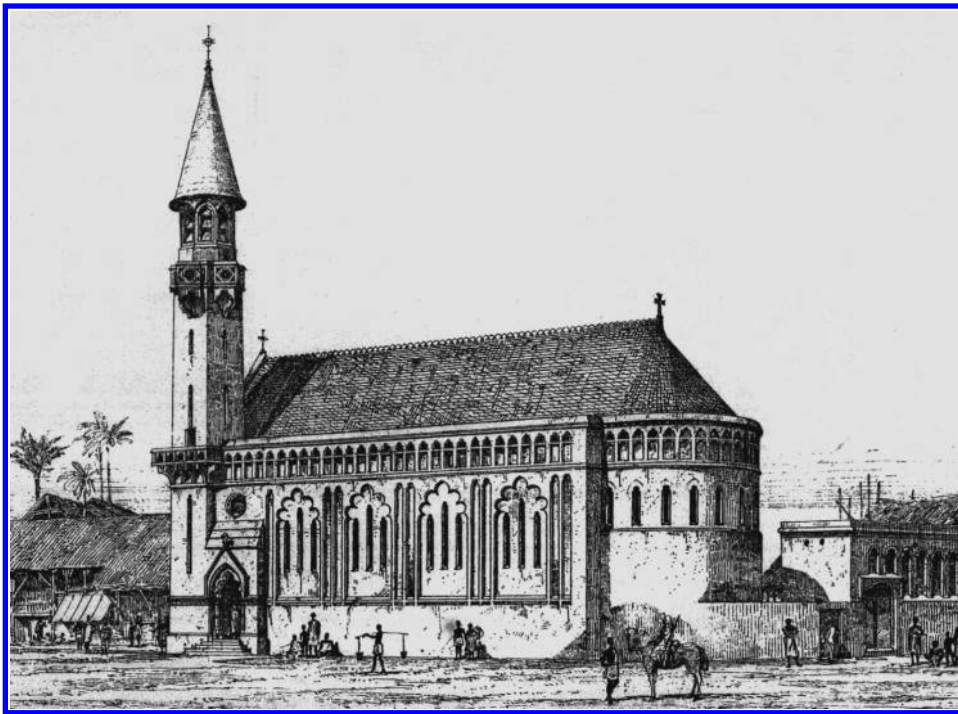


Figure 8 C. F. Hayward, drawing of Christ Church cathedral, Zanzibar, ca. 1875

symbolic enterprise as a spiritual one. In June 1873 the British special envoy to Zanzibar, Sir Bartle Frere (1815–1884), managed to convince the sultan, Seyyid Barghash bin Said al Bu-Said (r. 1870–88), to close the Zanzibar slave market once and for all.⁴⁹ Although this did not result in the complete cessation of slavery in the sultan’s territories, it was nonetheless a great victory for the mission. The church that rose in place of the slave market was conceived as a monument to the triumph of Christian hope over human suffering, with its high altar positioned directly over the site of the infamous whipping post.⁵⁰

With Tozer retiring as bishop in 1873, the Reverend Edward Steere (UMCA bishop 1874–82) took responsibility for the cathedral’s erection.⁵¹ He took a keen interest in both its design and construction. Indeed, like many Tractarian clergymen of his time, Steere was a rather accomplished amateur architect. Before joining the UMCA he spent a considerable amount of time sketching ancient churches in England, producing fine pen-and-ink drawings of their details, some of which he took to Africa. He made it his business to visit the cathedral’s construction site almost daily, overseeing every particular, from the arrangement of scaffolding and the centering for the windows to the fabrication of the vaulted concrete ceiling. As it was both necessary and politically shrewd to employ local labor, the fabric was constructed in the usual Zanzibar manner, using chunks of coral set in mortar rendered with a simple lime plaster finish.⁵²

Despite Steere’s crucial involvement in the construction of the cathedral, its design is usually attributed to the English architect Charles Forster Hayward (1830–1905).⁵³ It is clear from Steere’s notebooks and correspondence, however, that he had been thinking about the cathedral’s design for quite some time, and had worked out its basic plan and details before he engaged Hayward. Being an old school friend of Hayward’s, it is likely that Steere asked the architect to produce a more professional set of drawings based on his original ideas (and sketches) while on his visit to England in 1874 (Figure 8).⁵⁴

The style of the cathedral is often described as a “mixture” of Gothic and Arabic.⁵⁵ But this characterization, while being superficially accurate, is an inadequate explanation of the building’s architecture. The terms Arabic and Gothic are too vague to be useful. The cathedral as built (not as designed) is a work that drew heavily on local forms and techniques that were shaped by a confluence (rather than a distillation) of influences from around the world, including the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. This can be seen, for instance, in the crenellations that adorn the parapet—a feature commonly found on forts and state buildings in Stone Town dating back to the earliest assertion of Omani power following Portuguese occupation (1592–1699). The apparent Arabic influence in the building is more properly Islamic, in a variation specific to the East African coast. The simple yet elegant poly-lobbed *mibrab*

arches found in local mosques are echoed in the blind arcading on the cathedral's exterior as well as in the clerestory vents below the parapet. Inside the building, too, the simple power of the local Islamic tradition is pervasive. Although designed to recall European medieval precedent, the impressive stilted arcades running down either side of the nave are reminiscent of similar nearby examples, in particular at the Barza mosque in the Mkunazini quarter of Stone Town. Even the elaborately carved main door, with its intricate floral motifs, derives from an ancient Swahili tradition of timber craftsmanship dating back to the twelfth century.

The epithet "Gothic" must also be critically evaluated. Although the basic form and liturgical arrangement of the cathedral reflect medieval Christian tradition, much of its architectural detail is Byzantine. This, it seems, was a desirable characteristic. Steere, with his acute sense of history, was keenly aware that Zanzibar was a place where the worlds of Arabia, Asia, and Africa met and intermingled. Considering the island's extensive trade links, past and present, the idea must have occurred to Steere that Zanzibar was a kind of African Venice—an island kingdom at the center of a mercantile empire stretching from one end of the Indian Ocean to the other.⁵⁶ This apparent association seems to have affected his thinking on architecture. He recognized that the options open to an architect in such a place were uncommonly diverse. For example, when pondering how he might cover the roof of the cathedral, Steere initially proposed a series of domes, in emulation, perhaps, of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice or some other Byzantine exemplar.⁵⁷ A solution of this kind would not normally have suggested itself to a high-church clergyman, but the context and historic precedent in this case seemed to demand its consideration.

The cathedral's basilica-type plan reinforced its Byzantine credentials. It not only harked back to Christian beginnings but also embodied the mission's aim of reinvigorating the traditions of the early church. Moreover, the general heaviness and simplicity of the cathedral's architecture reflected the mission's self-sacrificing attitude and appeal to Christian origins. In this sense, the building's architecture represents the working out of a complex and nuanced set of responses to the particular cultural, historical, and aesthetic circumstances that prevailed in Zanzibar at the time. Thus, while the terms Arabic and Gothic may give a casual impression of the building's appearance, they are inadequate in capturing the specific (even peculiar) quality of the Zanzibari and European motifs from which its architecture was composed.

Another significant factor in the cathedral's design was politics. The Universities' Mission occupied a tenuous posi-

tion in the Muslim-dominated environs of Stone Town, and despite his victory over the slave market, Tozer was unwilling to test the patience of his Arab hosts. The mission's church services had caused trouble from the beginning, and there were elements within the Muslim community of Stone Town intent on undermining the mission's activity.⁵⁸

Although nowhere explicitly stated, it is clear from the tone of Tozer and Steere's letters concerning their predicament that the hybrid "Arabic" flavor of the building was conceived in response to the self-conscious vulnerability of their small Christian community situated in the midst of a large Muslim one. It is known, for example, that the sultan allowed the UMCA to build the cathedral—even giving them a clock for good will—so long as its spire did not overtop the highest point on his palace.⁵⁹ It is not surprising that the spire was also built to look more like a minaret than the tower of a traditional Christian church.

In reality there was very little Barghash could have done if Steere had ignored his request to limit the tower's height. He was effectively in the pocket of the British agent in Zanzibar, John Kirk (1832–1922), who had installed him as sultan after the death of his brother Majid (r. 1856–70) in 1870. Nevertheless, Steere erred on the side of caution, seeking a hybrid solution for the cathedral's design. His discretion was an act of architectural diplomacy.

This gesture was not without precedent in the history of Christian architecture. There was, of course, the almost contemporary example of St. Mark's Protestant church in Alexandria (1845–54) by James Wild.⁶⁰ But much earlier a similar Christo-Islamic style had evolved following the Norman conquest of Sicily in the eleventh century. Although traditional Islamic forms were incorporated in Sicilian medieval architecture for reasons unrelated to those at Zanzibar, the response in both cases was essentially political.⁶¹ The same can be said of the transformation of Christian architecture in Muslim-ruled Spain. Here, as Jerrilynn Dodds has shown, although the Muslim conquerors did not impede the practice of Christianity, they were hostile to monumental forms that testified to the vivacity and potency of Christian religion.⁶² Religious freedom for Christians came at the cost of the visual expression of Christianity, restricting church architecture and limiting the display of the crucifix.

Although Britain's influence over the affairs of Zanzibar was all but complete by the 1870s, the sultan still held great moral and religious sway.⁶³ Steere thus considered it politically and culturally prudent to avoid taunting the local Muslim population by erecting an ostentatious Christian building. Nevertheless, the cathedral could hardly go unnoticed. It was among the largest buildings on the island, and its grandeur,

observed one inhabitant, “compared with anything they [the local inhabitants of Zanzibar] had ever seen.”⁶⁴

Steere’s knowledge of architecture was crucial. It is likely that he had more than a rudimentary understanding of southern European architecture and its hybrid variations. Indeed, the unique qualities of Christian architecture in southern Italy and Spain had come to public attention through the competition for the Crimean War Memorial Church (1856), in which some of the entrants looked to the medieval architecture of Sicily for inspiration.⁶⁵ It was also around this time that adaptation of Christian architecture to non-European (i.e., colonial) contexts was being debated, as Anglican clergymen abroad struggled to come to terms with new and trying local conditions.⁶⁶ This debate was in part concerned with the concept of “incorporation.”⁶⁷ Even if Steere did not follow these debates closely, he would have been conscious of the parallels between his situation and that of his predecessors, which would have inclined him more toward a synthetic architectural approach.⁶⁸

Perhaps the most profound and unique factor in the design of the Slave Market Church was the peculiar and evolving theological position of the Universities’ Mission. Indeed, the missionary mindset of the UMCA gives a slightly different complexion to the building’s hybrid character, distinguishing it from precedents such as St. Mark’s, Alexandria, or the Crimean War Memorial Church.⁶⁹

By the time the UMCA relocated to Zanzibar in 1864, Tozer and Steere had concluded that a change of tack was necessary if the mission was to succeed. This change would entail, on the one hand, close observation of indigenous religion with a view to understanding how its precepts might best be aligned with traditional Christian theology, and, on the other, a relaxation of the conventional effort to civilize indigenous peoples by forcing them to adopt European dress and social customs. There was precedent for this in the Anglican mission field. Bishop John Coleridge Patteson’s mission to Melanesia in the 1860s had pioneered a similar approach in recognizing the potential for “true faith” among the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands. Influenced by the teachings of historic Anglican theologians such as Richard Hooker and Joseph Butler, as well as the writings of contemporary biblical scholars such as J. B. Lightfoot and B. F. Westcott, Patteson’s approach was one based on the perceived universality of Christianity.⁷⁰ Similarly, Henry Rowley had recognized quite early that both the Mang’anja (*Nyasa*) and Achawa (*Yao*) peoples had a reasonably developed concept of God. He observed that “seeking a groundwork in their common customs . . . [was] a surer way of making them Christians than by totally ignoring all they [knew] as useless.” He believed that from this

position the UMCA might “build up in the minds of these people a knowledge of that good God, which they thus ignorantly worshipped.”⁷¹ Like Patteson, Rowley accorded a basic integrity to the beliefs of the indigenous peoples of Central Africa in much the same way that St. Paul had done with the Athenians (Acts 15:23). In this sense, Rowley’s approach not only had features in common with other High Anglican missionaries working at the margins of the British empire, it also prefigured the missionary application of F. D. Maurice’s concept of Christian solidarity as developed by Westcott.⁷²

Tozer went further than Rowley in questioning the “civilizing” goals of the European missionary project. He argued that “to Anglicize the people in all . . . respects would be a very doubtful gain,” observing “it is wonderful how much wisdom after a time you will discover in the use of customs which at first sight seem barbarous.”⁷³ Steere agreed. “Nothing can be so false,” he opined, “as to suppose that the outward circumstances of a people are a measure either of its barbarism or its civilisation.” This analysis was also seen to apply to the UMCA. Drawing an analogy with the early Christian church, Steer noted: “the chief ornaments of the Apostolic Church would certainly be regarded as uncivilized in the present day and probably we shall ourselves appear so to those who come after us. But the Church of Christ is not affected by distinctions such as these.”⁷⁴ For Tozer and Steere, the appearance and superficial attire of indigenous peoples was unimportant compared with conditioning the soul. Let Africans be African, they believed, so long as the “spirit” (i.e., the soul) of each individual was attended to and a holy church built among them. Indeed, to civilize the indigenous peoples of East Africa would be to “run the risk of introducing English bad habits as well as English virtues.”⁷⁵

As one might expect, the mission’s relaxed, even experimental, policy toward evangelizing indigenes brought it into conflict with the conservative element in the Church of England. Nevertheless, Tozer remained determined to reform conventional missionary practice, believing that missionary bishops, wherever they might be, ought to operate independently of secular and central ecclesiastical authority.⁷⁶

Steere went further still in insisting that the English language be all but abandoned in East Africa as the medium of proselytization and preaching. He realized that the adoption of Swahili was crucial if the mission was to convey its message. Swahili was the language of commerce in East Africa, and although not everyone (particularly indigenous tribespeople) spoke it regularly, most people living in the region east of Lake Nyasa (now Malawi) understood it. It was clear to Steere that preaching, teaching, and conversing

in English would result in the mission's message being only partially understood at best, or completely ignored at worst. Therefore, one of the first initiatives implemented by Tozer and Steere in Zanzibar was the establishment of schools to teach indigenous children (most of whom were ex-slaves) native languages and Christian theology. The graduates of these schools would go on to serve the newly formed native ministry or "Negro church."⁷⁷

These insights concerning "savage" or "heathen" peoples and their customs put the Universities' Mission at the radical end of the Anglican missionary spectrum. But, as the Reverend Chauncy Maples (bishop of Likoma in 1895) would later insist, in a place such as East Africa it was necessary and right that the missionary should "bend the weapons of his spiritual warfare."⁷⁸ After all, Pope Gregory I had told Augustine himself to adapt his Christian message to prevailing cultural circumstances. As Steere pointed out in 1875, the mission's tactics were based on what he and those before him considered to be a sound vernacular principle: building a "native church" as opposed to importing one from Europe.

The idea of the vernacular is crucial in making sense of the hybrid character of the Slave Market Church. Just as the theological perspectives and missionary policies of the UMCA evolved in the face of circumstances, so did its architecture. The fundamental tenets of the missionaries' faith and its liturgical expression may have remained unaltered, but they were now draped in the "marked outward features of the native life."⁷⁹ This was no place for a refined, middle-pointed, English Gothic architecture, even if there were the resources to build it. The Zanzibar cathedral's architecture signaled that the mission was becoming, as Steere had promised, an African church for Africans. Its form was not only politically judicious but also perfectly consonant with the long-term missionary objectives of Steere and his colleagues.

With this in mind, Zanzibar cathedral can be understood as an unwitting fulfillment of the developmental doctrine in architectural design so prized by high-church Anglicans during the mid-nineteenth century. The cathedral is in many ways the type of building that Alexander J. B. Beresford Hope and the Ecclesiologists had been calling for as early as the 1840s—one that assimilated all other traditions, including Saracenic.⁸⁰ They may not have expected the realization of such an architecture so soon and in such a form, but they had encouraged it. The ideas and associations worked out by Steere in his design for the Slave Market Church were part of a "philosophic" (i.e., theoretical) tradition in the High Anglican architecture of the mid- to late nineteenth century.

The *modus operandi* pursued by the UMCA had nothing to do with "going native," as some in England might have viewed it, but was a thoughtful and logically conceived tactic of adaptation. At no point were the fundamental tenets of Christianity undermined or the basic liturgical rites of Anglican worship diminished. Indeed, if anything, these were tightened and accentuated.⁸¹

These tendencies were already evident in the few buildings produced by the UMCA in the first phase of its operation on the mainland. As with these early examples, it is possible to detect in both the spatial arrangement and decoration of the Slave Market Church the more traditional and disciplined hand of high-church Anglicanism. Everything from the open (i.e., free) seating of parishioners and altar décor to the subtle yet marked variations in floor height indicate a knowledge of correct church architecture and a desire to create it on an impressive scale.

The most significant point of continuity between the UMCA's early buildings and the Slave Market Church is the inclusion of an ante-chapel or narthex (Figures 9, 10). Steere seems to have brought this idea from Morambala.⁸² In a setting such as Zanzibar, with very few confirmed Christians, it was necessary for an Anglican missionary cathedral to have the correct spatial machinery to accommodate catechumens and inquirers (non-Christian observers) vis-à-vis the liturgy. Because many missionaries labored in situations akin to those experienced by the early church, with small congregations and crowds of curious observers, it had been suggested on several occasions that adding a narthex-like space to the front of churches was a suitable adaptation.⁸³ In such a space non-communicants could gather and witness the spectacle of divine service. Indeed, when the first service was held in the cathedral in 1877, a large number of Muslims assembled in the narthex to observe the grace, after which Steere preached to them in Swahili.⁸⁴

Although the cathedral's narthex functioned like the ante-chapel in the little mission church at Morambala, it can also be interpreted as an extension of the *baraza* tradition in Zanzibari architecture, in which stone benches placed against the exterior walls of shops and houses created an interstitial space for public or semipublic intercourse.⁸⁵ Steere had incorporated this idea in the "mud house" he first built on the slave market site. Here, under the eaves at the front of the house, he fashioned a mud bench so that he might "sit there and talk to all comers."⁸⁶ Even after the house had been superseded by the new church, he upheld this tradition, coming down the nave to converse with those who had gathered in the narthex as though he were speaking to them from the bench in front of the old house.

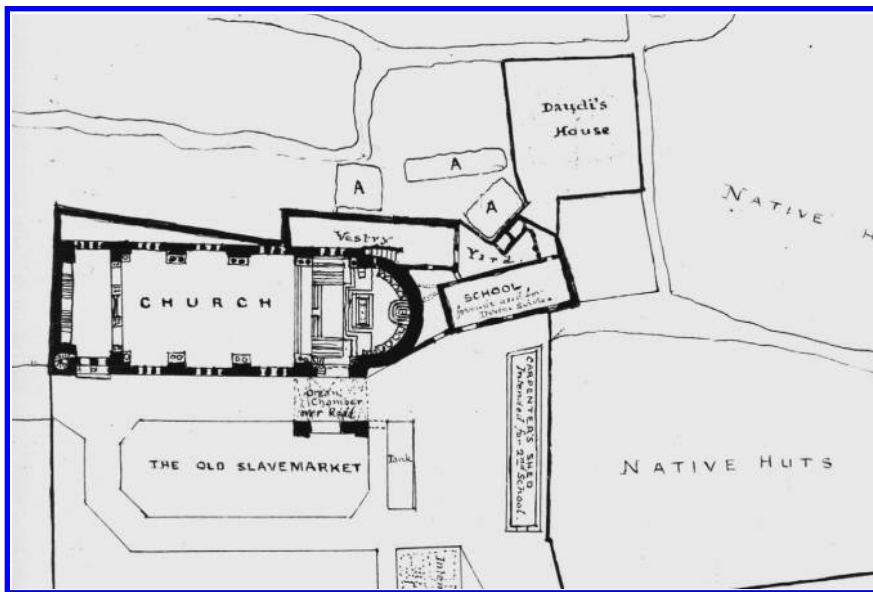


Figure 9 Precinct plan of Christ Church cathedral showing narthex space at the west end of the church, ca. 1885



Figure 10 Narthex and baptistery of Christ Church cathedral

In this spirit of adaptation, Steere made further adjustments. Directly above the narthex he found it necessary to build what the Eastern church once described as a *gynaeconitis*, or women's gallery, "since in the present state of feeling," he observed, "it would be impossible for ladies holding any position to throw themselves on the floor of the Church where the men worship."⁸⁷ This was obviously a concession to the strict division between the sexes in Muslim society. Even when gathered in a Christian building, Arab men still felt it prudent to avoid sharing sacred spaces with women (Figure 11).

Similar arrangements could be found in the Shi'a mosques of Stone Town, where women were allowed to take part in religious ceremonies from behind screened partitions, either on the floor of the mosque itself or from the level above. Steere's introduction of a women's gallery in the Slave Market Church ingeniously connected the two religious traditions through a shared architectural device. Finding himself in a difficult situation, Steere negotiated a *via media* between the cultural reality of Zanzibar and his desire to maintain the customs of the primitive church. This tactic was symptomatic of the UMCA's broader vernacular approach.⁸⁸



Figure 11 Interior of Christ Church cathedral looking west toward the narthex and women's gallery; photographed 1886

The Slave Market Church was first used on Christmas day, 1877. Although not complete, it attracted a large congregation of locals and Europeans who huddled into the shady areas beneath its unfinished roof. The building was

not formally opened until Christmas 1879, when, following the example of St. Augustine, Steere gave it the name Christ Church. It was officially consecrated in 1903.⁸⁹

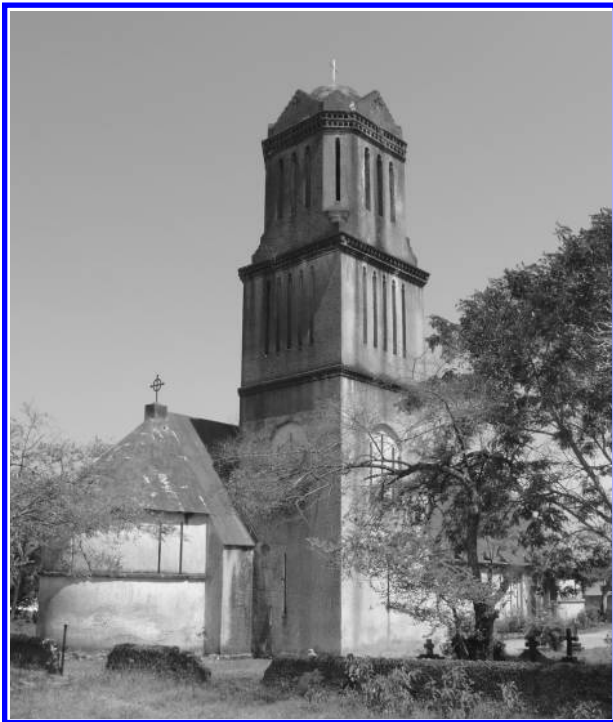
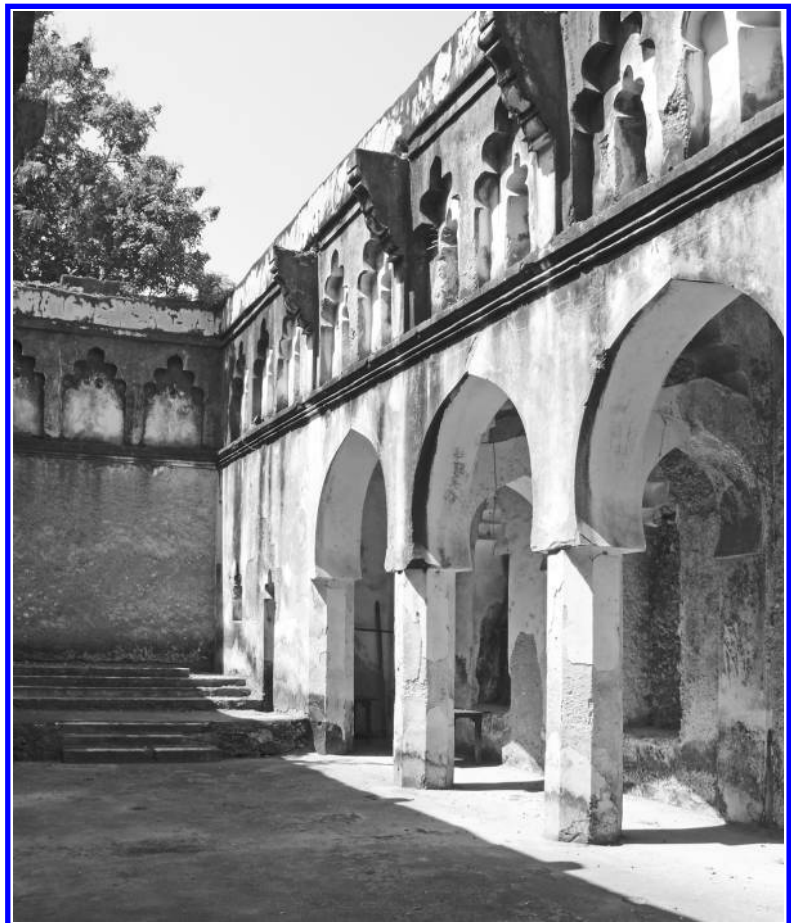


Figure 12 St. John's mission church, Mbweni, Zanzibar, 1882. This building was most likely designed by Edward Steere

Figure 13 Chapel at St. Mary's girls' school, Mbweni, ca.1880 looking from the nave toward the chancel (east) end of chapel



Building on Tradition: New Directions from Old on the Mainland

Christ Church cathedral did not remain alone for long. By the 1880s the UMCA had extended its architectural reach to other parts of the island. Two churches of note were St. John's, in the ex-slave settlement of Mbweni (1882), and the school chapel at Kiungani (1888) (Figure 12). Arranged in a characteristic high-church manner, both buildings continued the tradition established by Steere at Christ Church, incorporating local Islamic detailing to varying degrees. But the most extraordinary manifestation of this architectural type was the chapel at St. Mary's school for girls in Mbweni (Figure 13). The school was opened in 1874, with the chapel following some years later. Its design was most likely supplied by Steere in the late 1870s or early 1880s.⁹⁰ Although now a ruin, the building was laid out in strict high-church liturgical fashion. The resulting architecture was an alluring amalgam of medieval European planning and Islamic-style ogee and poly-lobed arches comprising the nave arcade, aisles, clerestory, and chancel. With the construction of several such buildings in Zanzibar by the 1880s, a distinct mission style had evolved. This was later carried to other parts of the Zanzibar archipelago, including the island of Pemba, where it was adopted in the church of St. Peter at Weti (1907).

However, when the Universities' Mission resumed operations on the mainland in the early 1870s, its church architecture initially took a different tack, picking up where it had left off several years earlier. The missionaries reverted to the indigenous building materials and technologies they had used when first stationed at Magamero, Chibisas, and Morambala.

This reversion was only in part based on available building expertise and materials. As on Zanzibar, incorporating established building technologies and practices dovetailed with the UMCA's evolving policy of cultural assimilation, a philosophy informed as much by the missionaries' lives in Britain as by their experiences in Africa. The circumstances of modern urban existence in Britain—its grotesque inequities, social and moral degradation, and disruption of the traditional rhythms of life—inclined the missionaries to protect what they believed to be the uncorrupted integrity of indigenous society. Many of the clergymen who later joined the UMCA had worked in the slums of Britain's major industrial cities and could see where African society was headed unless indigenous peoples were empowered to avoid the pitfalls of Western development.⁹¹

But it might be argued that such intervention, however benignly intended, was another form of cultural manipula-

tion or trusteeship designed to satisfy European needs, that keeping Africans in a state of arrested development was a displacement of pent-up frustration over the apparent loss of "Englishness" in English national life and an atonement for decades of guilt over Britain's involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. No doubt such factors played their part. But to dismiss the UMCA's motives as selfish, or to view them as merely a pendant to cultural imperialism, would be to underestimate the independent force of late-nineteenth-century Anglican idealism. While romantic notions may have influenced the mission's initial formation, the dedication and self-sacrifice of its clergymen was inspired by an overpowering sense of spiritual obligation, leading to a distinct quasi-monastic ethos and, ultimately, to a rejection of the civilizational approach common to most other European missions. This idea of sacrifice was understood first and foremost as a call to Christian duty.⁹² In this sense, the UMCA's pursuit of its missionary ideal—the establishment of a "Negro church"—was largely an end in itself, aloof from the wider concerns of European imperialism and geopolitics.⁹³

It was this ethic to which Bishop Tozer appealed when he asserted that it was not the mission's intention to "obliterate everything connected with the convert's nationality." When the mission resumed operations on the mainland, it came with an agreement that the native's "hut, food, and dress would *all be as before*." Naturally, this provoked controversy in Britain. The *Colonial Church Chronicle* chided Tozer for what it considered to be his misguided principle, observing that such a course of action would only undermine the "laws" of propriety and decency in the native mind. "The hut *must* alter," the journal insisted, "when industrial work, reading, writing, sewing, are introduced into it."⁹⁴ Such criticism was ignored; the UMCA clergymen knew better than anyone the limitations of their situation and how best to advance the work of their church.⁹⁵

The lasting effects of this attitude are seen in the architectural activities of the Reverend Arthur Fraser Sim (1861–1895). Stationed at Kota Kota, in the heart of what was then known as Nyasaland (now Malawi), Sim came to the mission via curacies in the industrial slums of Sunderland and Hartlepool in northern England. He was a strong yet sensitive man with a keen appreciation of architecture. His letters describe in detail the design and construction of mission station buildings. It was clear to Sim that the only way to erect effective, economical, and contextually appropriate buildings in such an environment was to embrace local building materials and techniques. However, like Steere and Tozer before him, Sim did not lose sight of the fundamental requirements of Anglican liturgy. His original

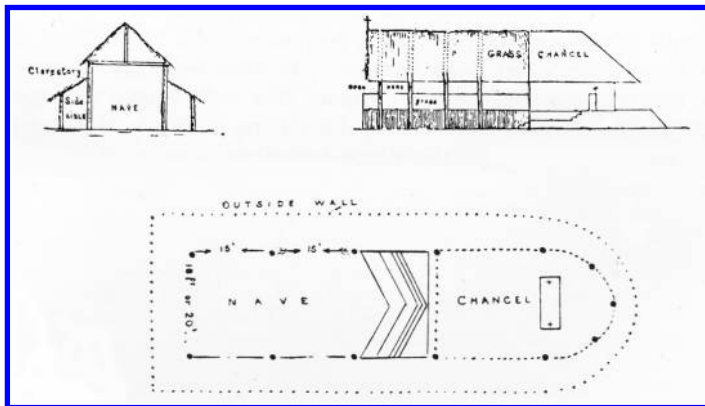


Figure 14 Arthur Sim, sketches (sections and plan) for UMCA mission chapel at Kota Kota (Tanzania), ca.1895, published in *The Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim*, ed. C. Body (London,1896)

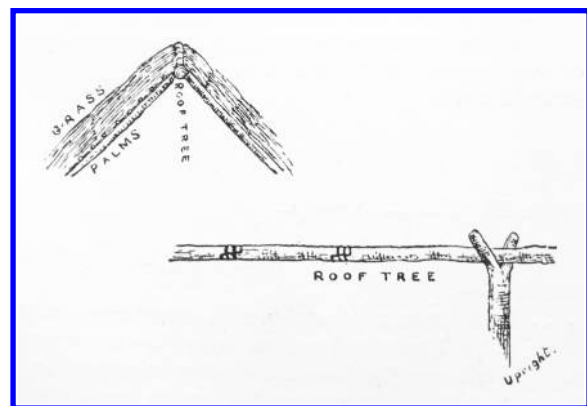


Figure 15 Arthur Sim, sketches of construction technology used on mission church at Kota Kota, published in *The Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim*

design for the chapel at Kota Kota shows a building that is liturgically typical in its layout, internal arrangements, and basic structure, but very atypical in its visual and material effect (Figure 14).

In adopting such an approach, Sim, like Steere, seemed to be aware of the ongoing discussion concerning the adaptation of Christian architectural forms to foreign (particularly tropical) climates. In a hot, humid environment like East Africa, the question was whether one should build massively to insulate against the heat, or build light and open to encourage ventilation. For Sim, the answer was not to choose between these modes but to build in the manner of the indigenous tribespeople among whom he lived and worked.⁹⁶ In designing the mission station at Kota Kota, he did not specify the brick, freestone, and slate that he would have employed in England (or, indeed, in South Africa), but “mud and reeds and trees and *chiwali*, or the midribs of the raphir palm, with grass for roof, and bark rope for nails” (Figure 15). To be sure, these impermanent building materials were far from desirable, but there was a moral integrity in their appropriation that even the most ardent ecclesiologist would have approved.⁹⁷

In assimilating local practices, Sim created an architecture he would later describe as “‘Early African’ . . . an excellent style for the country.”⁹⁸ Although this witticism was clearly a play on the pernicky nomenclature used by Gothic revivalists to describe the various phases of English medieval architecture, it was also candid. Given the tactics that Tozer, Steere, and, by this time, Maples had adopted, it was accepted that “the European missionary *must* become an African to win Africans. He must, so far as is

consistent with his Christian principles, assimilate himself [and his architecture] to them.”⁹⁹ As Jeffrey Cox has argued in relation to Protestant missions in India, this approach evolved, in part at least, as a result of the direct personal and institutional relationships formed by UMCA missionaries with their converts, allowing them to negotiate the terms of their (and the mission’s) engagement.¹⁰⁰ Evidence of this was already visible at Zanzibar, where Steere had incorporated spatial adaptations in the cathedral to address local concerns.

This assimilative approach in architecture was adopted in all the major stations established by the mission from the 1870s on, including Magila, Newala, Masasi, Likoma, Mkuzi, Luwatala, and Chipili. The first church at Newala from the early 1880s employed building materials and techniques very similar to those used by Sim: palm trunks for uprights, walls constructed of bamboos woven with *chiwali*, and roof of thatched elephant grass (Figure 16). The other defining feature of these buildings was their strict and dignified, high church liturgical arrangement, with raised chancel, timber railings, and decorated altar (complete with cloth, cross, and candlesticks). This arrangement was almost invariable, despite the isolated and trying conditions in which many UMCA missionaries worked. Like the Tabernacle of old, simplicity and impermanence were no excuse for the neglect of sanctity.

The UMCA mission stations on the mainland were highly disciplined environments. It was mission policy from the outset that no “heathen” should be admitted to the church (living or built) without an extended period of preparatory instruction. Referring to the customs of the

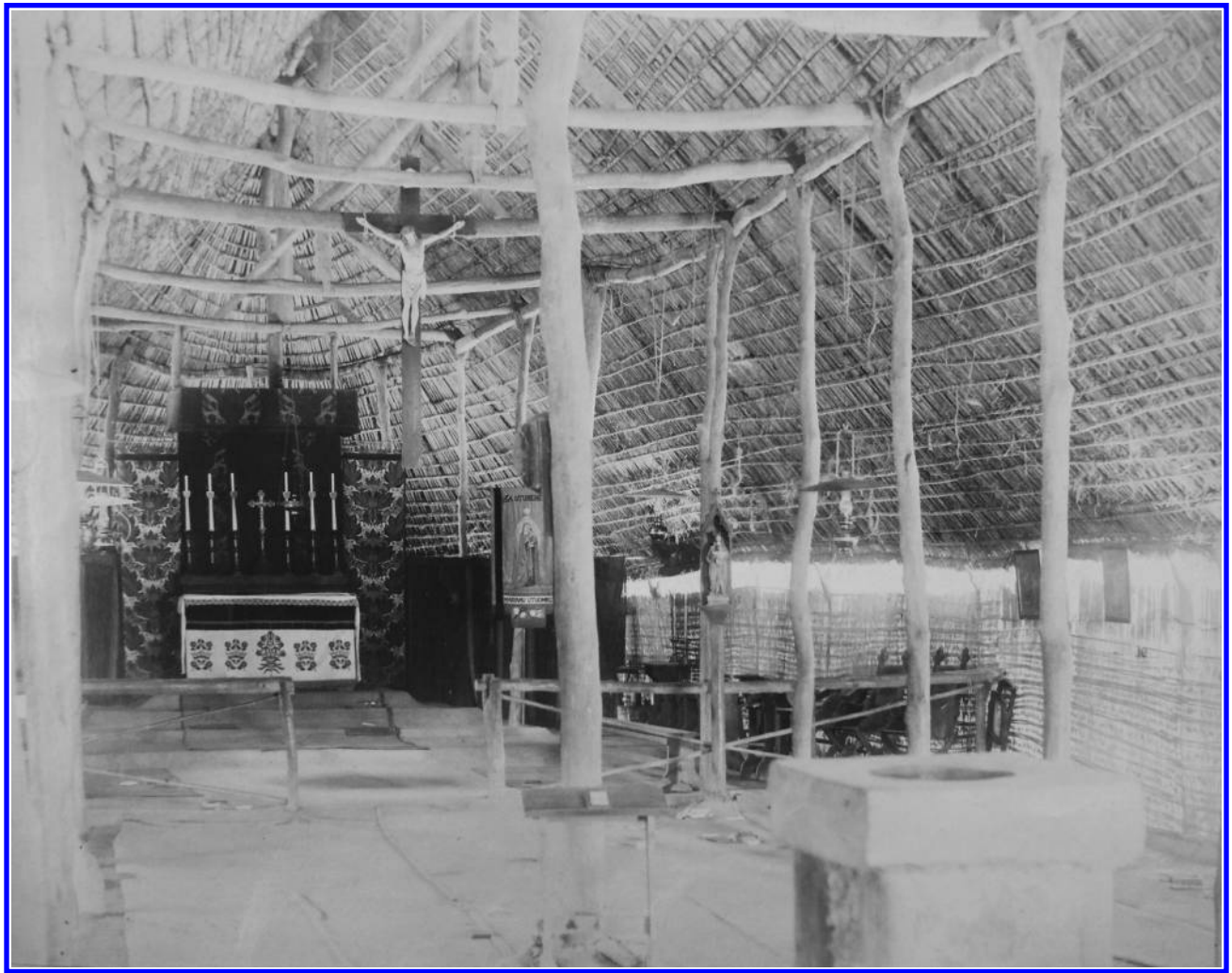


Figure 16 UMCA mission church, Newala (Tanzania), ca.1882, designed and built by Bishop Chauncy Maples

early church, Maples observed: “so far as possible we have followed the ancient discipline in this respect, and have caused our people to pass through the various grades of ‘hearers’ and ‘catechumens,’ while under preparation for holy baptism.”¹⁰¹ Both Maples and the mission believed that to deviate from the example laid down by the ancient church required one to “show reason (and very good reason, too) that our changed circumstances suffice to change the custom.”¹⁰²

However, these early mainland churches were inherently fragile. Ultimately, the mission wished to establish itself on solid foundations—not just spiritually but materially too. Maples believed that the first church at Newala, for example, would not last more than seven or eight years.¹⁰³ Likewise, it was the vision of Tozer to rebuild the grass church at Morambala if the means became available.

Some churches, such as those at Chipili and Mpondas, were composite structures, combining stone or brick walls with a traditional stick and thatch roof. This approach was eventually adopted at Kota Kota, with the erection of new stone walls pierced by simple lancet windows.

The ambition at most mission settlements was to rebuild their first stick and thatch buildings with more solid and enduring materials. Aesthetically, this process opened the way for a different type of Universities’ Mission architecture. For example, at Magila (one of the first stations to be settled on the mainland after the mission’s resumption of activity) a stone architecture was developed that was generally heavier and simpler than what had been constructed on the Zanzibar archipelago. The local Islamic motifs that characterized the mission’s earlier architecture under Bishop Steere are distinctly lacking in this later, mainland



Figure 17 Church of the Holy Cross, Magila (Tanzania), 1880–86



Figure 18 Interior of the Church of the Holy Cross, Magila, illustrating a style of architecture based on Christian primitivism

phase of building. The church of the Holy Cross at Magila (1880–86) was extremely “primitive” in the early Christian sense of the term (Figures 17, 18). Formally and aesthetically it was a crude Anglo-Norman or transitional Early English style of architecture, with thick rough-hewn walls, small openings, and plain, unpretentious detailing. In planning, too, its simplicity harked back to much earlier Christian prototypes.¹⁰⁴

Although the character of the architecture at Magila was no doubt affected by the absence of Steere’s influence, it was also dictated to a large extent by the fact that the quarrying of its stone and the raising of its walls was carried out by inexperienced indigenous labor. The building of mission churches in this way—that is, through the agency of indigenous labor and the clergy—was done not only for economic reasons but also as a practical expression Christian faith.¹⁰⁵

Another, more accomplished effort in this vein was St. Bartholomew’s church at Masasi. The original church there, like most UMCA buildings, had been built of stick and thatch.¹⁰⁶ However, like the Church of the Holy Cross at Magila, St. Bartholomew’s was rebuilt in a rather simple and heavy (if somewhat more refined) Gothic style in 1908 (Figure 19). This building also had a primitive air, with the overall effect being one of rawness and immediacy. Importantly, there was no diminution in liturgical discipline. Inside,

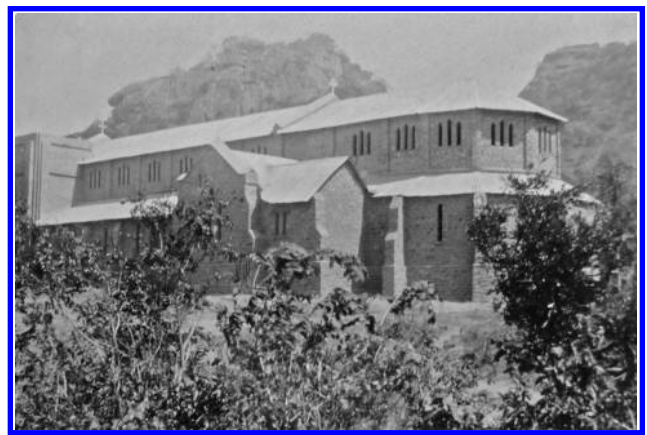


Figure 19 St. Bartholomew’s mission church, Masasi (Tanzania), 1908

despite its simplicity, there is a clear progression of sanctity from the nave, through the choir, to the chancel. Portable timber barriers demarcated the various classes of worshiper—hearers, catechumens, and the baptized.¹⁰⁷ This arrangement was common to most Universities’ Mission churches.

Perhaps the most extraordinary UMCA building was St. Peter’s missionary cathedral on Likoma island in Lake Nyasa (now Malawi) (Figure 20). Its establishment was the original objective of the UMCA in the 1860s and the long-

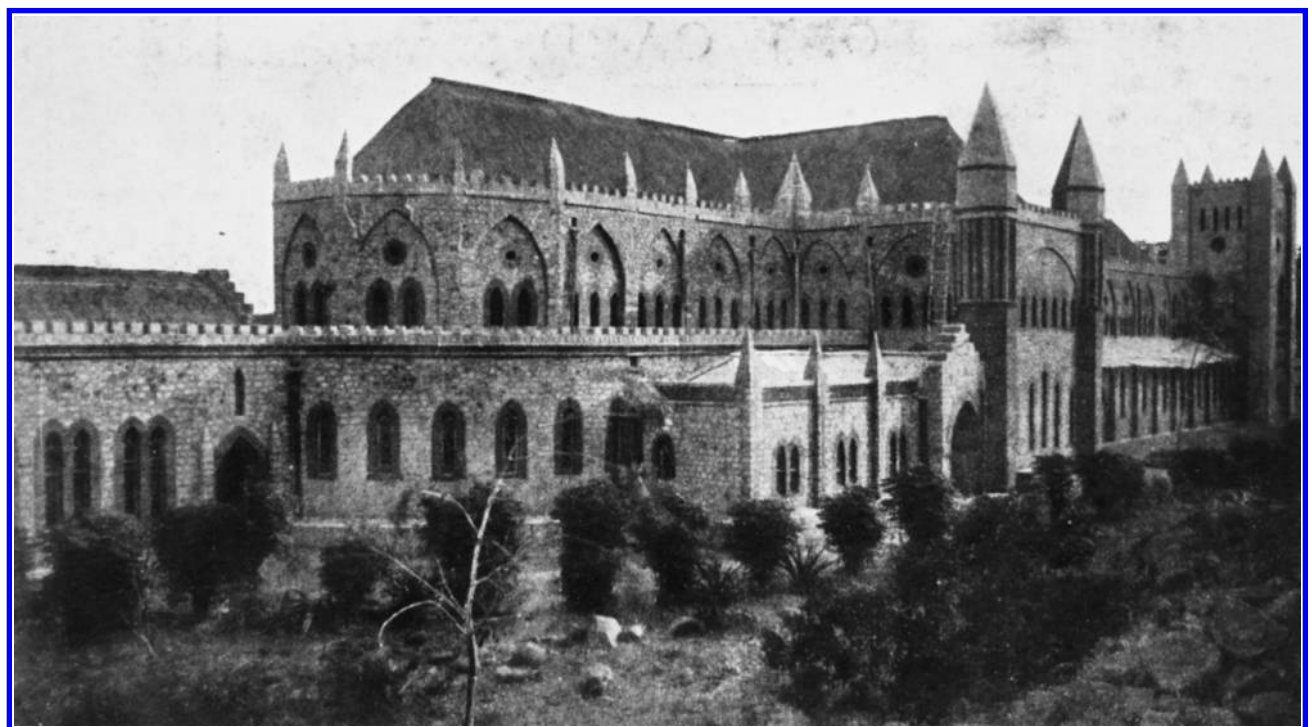


Figure 20 G. F. George, St. Peter’s mission cathedral, Likoma Island, Lake Malawi, 1903–9

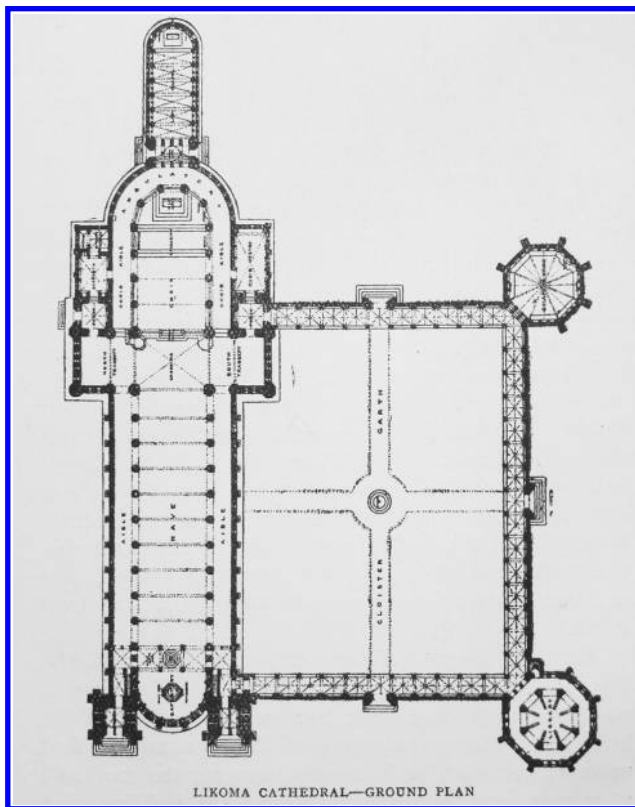


Figure 21 G. F. George, plan for St. Peter's mission cathedral, Likoma Island, published in Anna E. M. Anderson-Morshhead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859–1909* (London, 1909)

standing vision of Bishop Steere. The erection of St. Peter's was a remarkable feat by any standard, undertaken in a place that even today is isolated and difficult to reach. The cathedral was begun in 1903 and painstakingly constructed over a six-year period. Its designer was G. Frank George, an English architect who headed a traveling band of native African stonemasons. Together they had worked on other mission churches in the region, including Unangu and Kota Kota. The cathedral is an impressive structure, covering some 17,600 square feet. It consists of a long nave, with western baptistery and towers; shallow transepts and cloister; apsidal choir with aisles, ambulatory, and vestries; and an eastern Lady chapel.¹⁰⁸

St. Peter's was a monument to everything for which the Universities' Mission stood. Its elemental yet distinguished medieval forms (including cloister) bespoke the mission's determination to establish an independent and self-sufficient Negro church in tropical East Africa. Virtually every aspect of the cathedral's fabric was native, including the bricks, timber, and granite, all of which were sourced

or produced locally. The romantic ideal that this cathedral embodied must have been as poignant for the mission's clergymen as the achievements of Augustine in Britain or the early church fathers in North Africa. This romantic image was compounded by the fact that George's itinerant band of masons arrived at the site in a manner recalling medieval precedent.

The cathedral's arrangement also evoked Christian origins with a double-ended apsidal plan that was reminiscent of Carolingian and Ottonian monastic churches such as St. Michael's Hildesheim (1033), Maria Laach (ca. 1093) or St. Gall (ca. 830) (Figure 21). There was a regime of spatial and sexual demarcation as at Christ Church, Zanzibar, including separate entrances for men and women.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, the cathedral of St. Peter embodied a primitive and apostolic renaissance—a new Jerusalem in the heart of Africa and a reinvigoration of early Christian tradition.

Conclusion

Events and circumstances conspired to shape the unique architecture of the Universities' Mission during its first fifty years of operation. However, no single style or type of building prevailed. Notwithstanding liturgical strictures, the form, layout, and decoration of the mission's churches was variable. As the broad formal and aesthetic differences between the churches erected along the Zanzibar archipelago and those on the mainland illustrate, this had much to do with the two cultural and political contexts in which the mission's stations were situated. On Zanzibar it faced the social and religious constraints imposed by a dominant Muslim sultanate, while, on the mainland, it grappled with the ancient customs and traditions of indigenous culture. In each case these forces worked to "bend," as bishop Maples would have said, European missionary practice.

The Universities' Mission was not as dogmatic in matters of architectural taste as many of its Anglican forebears and contemporaries in other parts of the world. This is not to say that the UMCA was less inspired or thoughtful when it came to architecture; nor that its building strategies were ad hoc. On the contrary, the UMCA's constant and calculated reference to early church custom, along with its decided Anglo-Catholic disposition, created a rigorous expression of Anglican faith in built form. Although precedent and correctness in ecclesiastical architecture mattered, it was the cultural and political milieus in which the missionaries operated, combined with the missiological methods they developed, that defined this vernacular approach.

The Universities' Mission was not alone in adapting traditional Anglican forms to local contexts. Such adapta-

tions could be found wherever Church of England missions operated in the non-European world, ranging from the use of locally sourced building materials and techniques to the incorporation of indigenous architectural forms and motifs. Nor was the UMCA unique in attempting to create an independent, self-perpetuating church. It had been the goal of most Anglican missions during the period to euthanize their operation after a time, when the indigenous churches they fostered grew self-sufficient. However, UMCA clergymen pursued these ideas of adaptation longer and with greater consistency than their counterparts. Tozer, Steere, Sim, and Maples intellectualized and justified these transformations, placing the UMCA at the vanguard of evolved Anglican missiology. The ecclesiastical architecture that resulted was among the most responsive and synthetic ever produced by Anglican missionaries, expanding the aesthetic and theoretical domain of Anglican church building during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Notes

I wish to acknowledge the generosity of the British Institute in Eastern Africa; St. John's College, Oxford; and the Macgeorge Bequest, University of Melbourne (Queen's College and the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning), for supporting the research and development of this article. I am also indebted to the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Bodleian Library (Rhodes House), Oxford, for allowing the reproduction of images from their collections. Many thanks also to Sarah Longair and David Brownlee for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this article.

1. Chauncy Maples, "On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races" in *Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples: Late Bishop of Likoma Lake Nyasa, Africa*, ed. Ellen Maples (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), 179.
2. David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857). This plea would later be reiterated in David and Charles Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sambesi and Its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858–1864* (London: John Murray, 1865).
3. In this respect Livingstone's plan was straightforward: "My desire is to open a path to this district, that civilization, commerce, and Christianity might find their way there." "Dr. Livingstone's Speech in the Senate House, December 4, 1857" in *David Livingstone and Cambridge: A Record of Three Meetings in the Senate House—1857, 1859, 1907* (London: UMCA, 1908), 12.
4. It was noted in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* that "the impression made by Dr. Livingstone, on both the older and the younger members of the university, has been eminently deep and fruitful, amounting in some cases to the conviction of a personal obligation to go forth and preach the Gospel in these newly-discovered lands." *Colonial Church Chronicle* 13 (March 1859), 96–97. See also "Dr. Livingstone's Speech," 7–15.
5. The trade in slaves out of East Africa in the 1840s was estimated to be around 11,000 annually. By the 1860s this had risen to some 20,000. See Moses D. E. Nwulia, "The Role of Missionaries in the Emancipation of Slaves in Zanzibar," *The Journal of Negro History* 60, no. 2 (1975), 247, note 22.

6. The idea that Britain owed Africa something for its role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade was pervasive at this time. It was described in certain quarters as a kind of national guilt. For example, in the meeting of the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa (as it was then known), held in the Senate House on 1 November 1859, a motion was tabled that the mission was "entitled to especial support, not only because there is great reason to hope for a very favourable reception of the Gospel on the part of the natives of Central Africa, but also on account of the important bearing which the proposed operations of the mission have upon the civilisation of Africa by the extinction of the slave-trade." See *Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa: Meeting at Cambridge, Tuesday, Nov. 1, 1859* (supplement to the *Colonial Church Chronicle* 13 [1859], 11–17). For reference to guilt and obligation in this respect, see *Colonial Church Chronicle* 17 (Jan. 1863), 5; and the speeches by bishop Samuel Wilberforce in: Henry Rowley, ed., *Speeches on Missions by the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce, D.D.* (London: W. W. Gardner, 1874), 176–216.

7. For instance: Owen Chadwick, *Mackenzie's Grave* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1959); Anna E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (vols. 2 [1907–32], 3 [1933–57] by A. G. Blood) (London: UMCA, 1909). See also Landeg White, *Magomero: Portrait of an African Village* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 12–70; Daniel O'Connor et al., *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701–2000* (London: SPCK, 2000), 62–63; W. M. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (London: SPCK, 1997), 215–18; Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 225–34.

8. I say at least three because the UMCA worked among numerous subgroups, or "nations," as they called them, including the Maasai. Indeed, as Edward Steere (third UMCA bishop) noted in his 1875 Oxford lecture, owing to ancient trade links in the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar was "the meeting-place of India, Arabia, and Africa." See Edward Steere, *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: A Speech Delivered at Oxford* (London: Harrison, 1875), 12.

9. Jerome T. Moriyama, "Building a Home-Grown Church" in *Three Centuries of Mission*, ed. O'Connor, 330–42. This is also a word that Steere himself used to describe a particular missionary approach, particularly with respect to the preaching of the gospel in local languages, especially Swahili. See: Steere, *The Universities' Mission*, 19.

10. For the relationship between imperial politics and Anglicanism abroad, see: Howard le Couteur, "Anglican High Churchmen and the Expansion of Empire," *Journal of Religious History* 32, no. 2 (2008), 193–215.

11. Because of this, the first bishop of the UMCA, Charles Mackenzie, was originally styled "Bishop of the Mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyassa and River Shiré." See "Obituary—Bishop Mackenzie" *Gentleman's Magazine* 213 (Oct. 1862), 439.

12. Sara H. Sohmer, "Christianity without Civilization: Anglican Sources for an Alternative Nineteenth-Century Mission Methodology," *Journal of Religious History* 18, no. 2 (1994), 178. See also David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978). For a time at least Henry Venn and the Church Missionary Society had a similar attitude toward missionary work. See Peter Williams, "'Not Transplanting': Henry Venn's Strategic Vision" in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999*, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 147–72.

13. Andrew Porter, "The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Twentieth-Century Colonial Encounter" in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2003), 79–107; Terence Ranger, "Missionary Adaptation of

African Religious Institutions: The Masasi Case" in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. Terence O. Ranger and Isaria N. Kimambo (London: Heinemann, 1972), 221–51.

14. A complete history of Anglican architecture must include its colonial manifestations. However, although some good work has been done on colonial ecclesiology, the missionary aspect of this architecture has been largely neglected. For some recent work on this, see G. A. Bremner, "Out of Africa: G. F. Bodley, William White, and the Anglican Mission Church of St. Philip, Grahamstown, 1857–67," *Architectural History* 51 (2008), 185–210.

15. The UMCA missionaries' frustration over Livingstone's "blind enthusiasm" at the prospects of Central Africa began to build from their first sighting of the Zambezi. A flavor of their disappointment can be found, for example, in an unpublished letter from W. G. Tozer to Bp of Capetown (6 Jan. 1864), UMCA Archive (Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House): A1(I)1 "Letters of Bishop Tozer and Steere," 47–48. See also Hubert C. Fox, "The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Sowing a Seed in East Africa, 100 Years Ago," 1967, unpublished manuscript, UMCA Archive, A1(I)A-10.

16. For an account of the establishment of this settlement, see White, *Magomero*, 21–5.

17. Henry A. Douglas, *The Office of the Bishop the Foundation of the Church* (Cape Town: n.p., 1861). See also "The Consecration of Bishop Mackenzie," *Colonial Church Chronicle* 15 (April 1861), 133.

18. Andrew Porter, "An Overview, 1700–1914," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Missions and Empire*, ed. N. Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 57.

19. A. William de Villiers, *Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards* (Johannesburg: n.p., 1998), 63.

20. "Canterbury and Central Africa," *Colonial Church Chronicle* 14 (Nov. 1860), 401–6; *Colonial Church Chronicle* 17 (Jan. 1863), 5–8.

21. This deliberate association with the early epoch of church history was natural to missionary clergymen of Tractarian persuasion. The early church was not only seen as less corrupt than that of later ages but it also represented the first effort at Christian mission. See Sohmer, "Christianity without Civilization," 195.

22. Mackenzie even went as far as to insist that building was his mission's "main work." Unpublished letter from Bishop Mackenzie to Bishop of Natal, 29 Jan. 1861, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (USPG) Archive (Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House): D24/A (Africa), 4157/61.

23. *Colonial Church Chronicle* 15 (Feb. 1861), 67. The use of a tent for divine service in Anglican missionary contexts was not uncommon. Not only did it serve an immediate practical need, it was also seen to represent the original tabernacle. G. A. Selwyn, the first bishop to New Zealand, for instance, made extensive use of this concept. See the numerous references to the "Church tent" in: Selwyn College Archive, University of Cambridge: 6.19.c; 17.11.b; 7.1.e; 7.3.e; 8.39.j; Selwyn Letter Book (1841–45), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: qMS-1774; Cotton Journals, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. See also *Ecclesiologist* 1 (Nov. 1841), 1, 4–5.

24. *Colonial Church Chronicle* 16 (Aug. 1862), 285–86.

25. Reverend Henry Rowley, a UMCA missionary and colleague of Mackenzie's, observed that "we all talked much over this church." Henry Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1866), 208.

26. For a first-hand account of this event, see the extract from Horace Waller's journal printed in the preface to Henry Rowley's *Twenty Years in Central Africa* (London: W. Gardner & Darton, 1881), ix–xi. See also Harvey Goodwin, *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie* (Cambridge: Deighton & Bell, 1865), 292–304.

27. While moving through the region, Mackenzie and his colleagues were well aware of the warlike state that it was in. For his own security (and that of his followers), Mackenzie was known to carry his crosier in one hand and a gun in the other, aware of the apparent contradiction: "I thought of the contrast between my weapon and my staff, the one like Jacob, the other like Abraham, who armed his trained servants to rescue Lot." Anderson-Morsehead, *The History*, 20. For criticism of the UMCA's actions, see: *Colonial Church Chronicle* 16 (Aug. 1862), 287–88. It was noted here, for example, that "in the judgement of the Church at home, the crosier and the rifle are incompatible instruments in the hands of a Christian Bishop" (288). See also *The Church Gazette for the Diocese of Melbourne* 16, no.1 (Oct. 1862), 138. According to Rowley, although Mackenzie was carrying a gun, he did not use it. Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' Mission*, 137.

28. The mission's retreat to Chibisas is documented in the *Occasional Paper of the Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham Mission to Central Africa* (London: n.p., 1864). Here Tozer describes the chapel as "temporary."

29. As Rowley himself admitted, the buildings the mission produced on their station at Chibisas were "not excellent" compared with what they had been able to achieve in the highlands. Good building timber was hard to come by in the river valley, leading to a "rough" type of architecture. Henry Rowley's Journal (13 May 1862), UMCA Archive, TC.E.3–47.

30. Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' Mission*, 207.

31. White, *Magomero*, 25. This was an idea shared by other Anglicans in the mission field. For example, at the Umlazi Mission south of Durban, it was observed by the resident clergyman that the mission buildings alone appeared "as a breach in the heart of heathenism. Our settlement on such a spot will have doubtless a direct civilizing effect. The sight of a well-ordered European household and the cultivated ground with its vegetable productions will do their silent work of conveying new ideas and suggesting thoughts to the natives' minds." *Mission Field* 11, no.126 (June 1866), 125.

32. As Gertrude Ward said of Tozer, "it should never be forgotten that the high traditions of our Mission were formed by him at a time when English missionary ideals were not commonly of a high type. Reaching Central Africa in the days of disaster following as the result of inadequate knowledge and indefinite policy, he from the first refused to depart from the lines that Catholic tradition had laid down for missionaries from the earliest ages." *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, ed. Gertrude Ward (London: UMCA, 1902), xiii.

33. "Extracts from Narrative of Mr Proctor," UMCA Archive, TC/E3-10.

34. UMCA Archive, A1(I)A-2.

35. Letter from Tozer published in *The Guardian*, undated clipping in UMCA Archive, A1(I)A-10.

36. *The Church Times* (12 March 1864). Edward Steere, who was part of Tozer's missionary party at Morambala, noted of the church that it "is to be a grand edifice, 35 feet long and 11 feet wide, with a south porch and a round east end." See: R. M. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere: Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1890), 66.

37. Steere notes in a letter home how he, along with the mission's carpenter, devised the plan and structure for the church, taking great care to produce as finely a crafted work of architecture as means would allow. He also notes that the screen used to divide the "heathen boys" from missionaries was located about halfway down the nave. Unpublished letter from Edward Steere (22 Oct. 1863), UMCA Archive, A1(III)B-1-245.

38. Tozer Journals, Zanzibar National Archives: CB1/1B, 35.

39. The *pronaos* section of the church was described by Tozer as the "ante-chapel," where the indigenous boys would "stand and kneel and squat" during church services. See Ward, *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, 42.

40. The antechapel was described by Steere as a "narthex." Unpublished letter from Edward Steere, 22 Oct. 1863, UMCA Archive, A1(III)B-1-245.

41. Although the introduction of such a spatial device had clear disciplinary and historic associations, it may also have been influenced by UMCA missionaries' desire to dispel the idea in the minds of their indigenous followers that when they prayed in their church they were conducting magic. The missionaries encouraged a notion of mystery around the Eucharist, but it seems they did not want their activities to be misinterpreted as witchcraft. An impression of this is given by Rowley in *The Story of the Universities' Mission*, 208.
42. For the concept of "development" in nineteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture, see David Brownlee, "The First High Victorians: British Architectural Theory in the 1840s," *Architectura* 15, no.1 (1985) 33–46. This idea as it applied to Anglican theology was concerned with what John Henry Newman had described as the emergence of truth through an "increase and expansion" in the understanding and interpretation of scripture over time. Such an expansion of interpretation was seen as a natural evolution of divine comprehension, intimately connected with, rather than a corrupt departure from, what the Church had taught since the early fathers. This was a concept that allowed for the development of a genuine theology for modern times. See Bernard M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age: A Survey from Coleridge to Gore* (London: Longman, 1995), 105–11. In a context such as that occupied by the UMCA, one can see how such an idea would have appealed in reconciling indigenous culture with Christian theology, including its physical manifestation through architecture.
43. For example, see *Colonial Church Chronicle* 18 (May 1864), 181–82.
44. Livingstone quoted in Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1995), 139.
45. "Mem. of Bishop of Oxford's Address at a Conference of Members of ... Committee of Central African Mission, held at 79 Pall Mall Tuesday 9th Feb 1864," UMCA Archive, A4(I)-62.
46. It was also observed by Edward Steere that "what we do there [in Zanzibar] echoes throughout all Central Africa." Steere, *The Universities' Mission*, 13.
47. Some of the other reasons are mentioned in Edward Steere's memorandum on Zanzibar. *Colonial Church Chronicle* 18 (Dec. 1864), 462. See also Edward Steere, *Some Account of the Town of Zanzibar* (London: n.p., 1869); Tozer quoted in *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, 40.
48. Unpublished letter from W. G. Tozer to Bp of Capetown, 6 Jan. 1864, UMCA Archive, A1(I)1 "Letters of Bishop Tozer and Steere," 47–48.
49. The sultan was threatened with a complete British naval blockade unless he agreed to the terms laid down by Frere. Frere left Zanzibar in March 1873, leaving the negotiation of the treaty to his political agent in Zanzibar, John Kirk. Norman R. Bennett, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar* (London: Methuen, 1978), 96–98. See also: Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: MacMillan, 1978), 44–48.
50. The portions of the old slave market on which the cathedral was built were bought (September 1873) using funds donated by the Reverend A. N. West. Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 83.
51. Some felt the cathedral to be a waste of energy and resources that might have been better spent in other ways. Stung by this criticism, Steere defended his position: "Do not call it a Cathedral. It is a Memorial Church in the Old Slave Market. The fact of the slave-market site and the memorial character are what justify its costliness." *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston: Boston University Press, 1970), 184 note 37.
52. For an account of the building of Zanzibar cathedral, see Yoland Brown, *Zanzibar: May Allen and the East African Slave Trade* (Shropshire: Eleventh Towns Publishing, 2005), 165–70. According to some accounts, when Steere was not around things often went wrong, for example, installing the marble pillars in the baptistery upside-down. Anon., *Mission Heroes: Bishop Steere of Zanzibar* (London: SPCK, n.d.), 20; Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 85; UMCA Archive, A4(1); *The Builder* (28 May 1881), 666.
53. Hayward was in partnership with T. Roger Smith for a time. For Smith, see Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber & Faber, 1989), 1–8.
54. For example, in 1874 Steere noted: "I think I shall invest in some portable compasses for my architectural works. I hope next month to get the plans of the Church drawn out a little in detail." Unpublished letter from Edward Steere to Mrs. Stone, 31 Dec. 1874, UMCA Archive, D8(2)- Letters 1874–83. Hayward was reported in the *Illustrated London News* (24 July 1875) as the "newly appointed" architect. However, it was stated elsewhere that "much of the general idea of the design must be attributed to Bishop Steere himself." *The Builder* (28 May 1881), 666. Although the drawings of the cathedral Steere mentioned do not survive (if he indeed drew them), it is reasonable to assume that he transmitted his ideas for the building in one form or another directly to Hayward. We have no record of a meeting between the two men, but they almost certainly would have met to discuss the matter during Steere's visit to England. The other surviving drawings of church architecture by Steere indicate that he did invest in drawing equipment. "Drawings by Steere," USPG Archive (Oxford)—Photos 1997.
55. Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 87; Brown, *Zanzibar*, 166.
56. Although Steere does not identify Stone Town specifically with Venice, he does say "[t]he whole aspect of the place from the sea is more Italian than African." *Central African Mission: Occasional Paper*, no. 4 (1869), 5. Indeed, the idea that Zanzibar was a kind of "African Venice" had been somewhat popularized by the early twentieth century. For example, on approaching Stone Town sometime before 1920, Francis Pearce observed that it rose "from the waves like a tropical Venice." F. B. Pearce, *Zanzibar: the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1920), 146.
57. Unpublished letter from Edward Steere, 22 Oct. 1873, UMCA Archive, A1(III)A. Hayward modeled the sedillia around the apse of the cathedral after Byzantine models, in particular the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello in Venice. See *Illustrated London News* (24 July 1875), 94. Whether this precedent was suggested to Hayward by Steere is not known.
58. Unpublished letter from Edward Steere, 2 June 1875, UMCA Archive, A1(III)A-1-489. See also the letter by Steere published in *The Builder* (4 Sept. 1875), 795.
59. *Cathedral Church of Christ Zanzibar* (Zanzibar: n.p., 1927), 2–3. It was also reported in *The Builder* (4 Sept. 1875) that a set of Hayward's plans were received by the Sultan. This probably took place during the Sultan's visit to Britain in 1875.
60. Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 111–23.
61. For example, see Jeremy Johns, "The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate," *Anglo-Norman Studies XV* (1992), 133–59; Charles E. Nicklies, "Builders, Patrons, and Identity: The Domed Basilicas of Sicily and Calabria," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004), 99–114. I wish to thank Kate Jones for bringing these sources to my attention.
62. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1990), 60.
63. Robinson and Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians*, 46–47. Sayyid Barghash's relationship with the British was causing problems of its own among the local population in Zanzibar.
64. Archdeacon Percy Lisle Jones-Bateman, quoted in Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 89.
65. The competition was widely publicized and reported in the periodicals such as *The Builder*, the *Building News*, *The Ecclesiologist*, and the *Colonial*

Church Chronicle. For a recent scholarly account of the Crimean Memorial Church, see Crinson, *Empire Building*, 137–66.

66. Benjamin Webb had been writing on the adaptation of Gothic architecture to foreign climates as early as 1845. Benjamin Webb, “On the Adaptation of Pointed Architecture to Tropical Climates,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society* (1845), 199–218. This and related topics were covered in *The Ecclesiologist* during the 1840s and 1850s, for example, 4 (May 1847) 23, 168–71; 5 (Dec. 1847) 27, 142–47; 6 (Dec. 1848) 33, 181–87; 9 (Feb. 1851) 46, 20–23, 29–45; 9 (June 1851) 48, 169–72; 2 (April 1854) 65, 150.

67. For example, Alexander J. B. Beresford Hope, an influential figure in the world mid-nineteenth-century British architecture, observed that the architecture of the future, particularly in Britain’s colonies, would have to “incorporate the beauties and conveniences of all other styles,” so long as they were grafted to an essential European (preferably English) Christian body. Steere may have been aware of Beresford Hope’s concept, referred to as “progressive eclecticism” by Joseph Mordaunt Crook in “Progressive Eclecticism: the Case of Beresford Hope” in Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *The Architect’s Secret: Victorian Critics and the Image of Gravity* (London: John Murray, 2003), 85–120.

68. On a return trip to England in 1877, for example, Steere was aware enough of the transformations that had taken place in High Victorian architecture to be impressed by the “un-English” character of Keble College chapel. See unpublished letter from Edward Steere (11 May 1877), UMCA Archive, A1(III)A-253.

69. Crinson, *Empire Building*, 111–23, 137–56.

70. Sohmer, “Christianity Without Civilization,” 180–89.

71. Rowley, *The Story*, 267–70.

72. Westcott argued for a broadly conciliatory approach to missionary theology, viewing other religions—such as Hinduism and Islam—not as idolatrous and false but as incomplete or partial revelations of the true faith. For the initial articulation of this idea, see B. F. Westcott, *On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities* (London: MacMillan, 1873), 25–44. For its affect on the Cambridge Mission to Delhi (established 1876), see Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002), 46–8, 140. This idea also had much in common with Butler’s concept of mediation, which centered on analogy or the process of applying the understanding of the familiar to the unfamiliar. Sohmer, “Christianity without Civilization,” 186–87.

73. On this point Tozer noted: “I dare say some would think it was hopeless to teach such children Christianity, before you had clad them in some more decent (because more English looking) costume, coat and trousers at the least and perhaps shoes and stockings as well. But the effect would be at once to bring out an irritation of the skin, especially in the region of the abdomen and anus, which is exactly like the Itch in its effects. The African skin must have plenty of air and a constant application of water to keep it in health. The former is secured by the native form of dress, and thus [to] make Africans look like Europeans at the expense of health and cleanliness, would surely be a great mistake.” Unpublished letter from W. G. Tozer to Bishop of Lincoln, 17 June 1865, UMCA Archive, A1(I)A. See also commentary on Tozer’s views in *Colonial Church Chronicle* 23 (Dec. 1869), 482–85.

74. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 246.

75. Unpublished letter from W. G. Tozer to Bishop of Capetown, 6 Jan. 1864, UMCA Archive, A1(I)1 “Letters of Bishop Tozer and Steere,” 47–48.

76. Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 225–34. This issue of “episcopal autonomy” was also championed by Bishop Robert Gray of Cape Town, who consecrated Mackenzie in 1861. *Life of Robert Gray*, ed. Charles Gray (London, 1876), 1: 441–43, 465–70.

77. Edward Steere, *Central African Mission: Its Present State and Prospects* (Oxford: Rivingtons, 1873), 25.

78. Maples, “On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races,” 188. Similar attitudes toward assimilation were developed among a number of Protestant missionaries in India during the late nineteenth century. Jeffrey Cox, “Going Native: Missionaries in India” in *Still More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain*, ed. W. Roger Louis (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 299–314.

79. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 245–46. Here Steere was referring to the way the mission must work through and with the peoples of East Africa rather than against them. Its permanent success, he argued, depended upon “its acceptance of all the marked outward features of the native life from which it springs” (245).

80. Mordaunt Crook, “Progressive Eclecticism,” 98–103.

81. On this point Maples observed that, although “the methods of presenting . . . doctrine are and must be manifold, the faithful missionary will not [and should not] bate one jot of the orthodox faith.” Maples, “On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races,” 178.

82. It is possible that Steere also picked up knowledge of such spatial division in early Christian architecture from precedents in northern Africa. For example, on a visit to Cairo in 1885, Chauncy Maples observed that the tenth-century Coptic church of St. Mary’s “is divided into three parts, screened off from one another, and on slightly different levels, with a side chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and a baptistery. . . . The altar was placed as in all old Eastern churches, and like ours at Zanzibar, with the seats for the presbytery, and the throne in the middle for the patriarch.” Ellen Maples, *Chauncy Maples D.D., F.R.G.S., Pioneer Missionary in East Central Africa . . . : A Sketch of His Life with Selections from His Letters* (London: Longmans & Co., 1897), 237.

83. For example, in 1848 John Mason Neale, one of the founding members of the Ecclesiological (former Cambridge Camden) Society, presented the lecture “Narthex of Ancient—Especially the Eastern—Church with Reference to Its Adoption in England’s Missionary Colonial Dioceses.” For reference to this lecture, see *Ecclesiologist* 5 (June 1848), 380. The use of narthexes in missionary cathedrals was also suggested in Alexander J. B. Beresford Hope’s *The English Cathedral in the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1861), 84.

84. Steere observed, “Last Friday, when we arrived, we were singing the hymn [and] they came in and filled the lower part of the room.” *Mission Field* 23 (April 1878), 185. See also “Central African Mission Diary,” Zanzibar National Archives: CB1/5 (25 Dec. 1877).

85. For the meanings and various uses of the term *baraza* in Swahili culture, see Angelique Haugerud, *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 61–2.

86. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 120.

87. UMCA Archive, A1(III)B, 416–25. Anderson-Morshead also noted: “At the west end is a gallery for such Arab ladies as could not, according to Eastern etiquette, mingle with men on the church floor.” Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 87. For a contemporary account on the historical usage of narthexes and women’s galleries, see John Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church* (London: J. Masters, 1850), 207–10.

88. The women’s gallery was added in the early 1880s. Steere observed, “There are known to be some [women] who would be glad to come if a fitting place were provided for them.” UMCA Archive, A1(III)B, 416–25.

89. “Consecration of Christ Church Cathedral, Zanzibar,” UMCA Archive, A4(1)-122. This delay was owing to the fact that for a long time many believed it would cause unnecessary social tension to consecrate a Christian building in Stone Town. It is also interesting to note that by 1907 native clergy were officiating at services in the cathedral. *Zanzibar Gazette* 14, no.

828 (Dec. 1907), 3. I wish to thank Sarah Longair for bringing this reference to my attention.

90. One visitor reported the existence of a chapel by December 1877. *From Zanzibar to Ujiji. The Journal of Arthur W. Dodgshun 1877–1879*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston: Boston University Press, 1969), 47. See also *Central African Mission: Occasional Paper*, no. 10 (1878), 18.

91. Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 229–31.

92. Sara Sohmer has also identified this motivation among the high church clergymen of the Melanesian mission. For example, she suggests that the fundamental features of the Oxford Movement and Tractarianism—intensified religious feeling and an almost mystical devotion to the Church—had obvious implications for mission. Sohmer, “Christianity without Civilization,” 181, 190.

93. I say “largely” here because after 1885 much of the territory in which the UMCA operated came under the control of Germany (German East Africa). Although clergymen within the mission were openly critical of German colonial rule, they chose to stay under German control rather than leave their infant church to the devices of Roman Catholics and Lutherans.

94. *Colonial Church Chronicle* 23 (Dec. 1869), 482–85.

95. It was this relative independence from secular and ecclesiastical authority that allowed the UMCA to uphold a vernacular principle where many Protestant missions in Africa were unable. Andrew C. Ross, “Christian Missions and the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Change in Attitudes to Race: The African Experience,” in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2003), 85–105.

96. Such materials were identified by Maples as those which “Africans in all ages have considered sufficient.” Chauncy Maples, “Papers from Newalla” in Maples, *Journals and Papers*, 71.

97. For example, in 1852 the *Ecclesiologist* had in fact commended a similar design for a small church made of wattle and daub in Cape Town by William White as “suitable” considering the circumstances. *Ecclesiologist*, 10 (Aug. 1852), 301.

98. *The Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim, Priest in the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa* (London: UMCA, 1896), p. 212.

99. Maples, “On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races,” 186. Maples also went so far as to suggest: “Where he [the missionary] can adopt the native dress without giving offence to his own European brethren, as is possible in places remote from the haunts of white men, he should not be slow to do it. If it be possible to do so without injury to health, he should take native food and eat in native fashion.”

100. Cox, “Going Native,” 303–4.

101. Maples, “Papers from Newalla,” 74. This idea and its relationship to church discipline was directly related to the “doctrine of Reserve.” Sohmer, “Christianity without Civilization,” 193.

102. Maples, *Chauncy Maples D.D.*, 142.

103. Maples, “Papers from Newalla,” 71.

104. Indeed, so martial looking was the building in its solidity and mass that it was initially thought by the local indigenes (*Bondei*) to be a fort. Anderson-Morshead, *The History*, 190.

105. This was a tradition that John Armstrong, bishop of Grahamstown, thought worthy of reviving as early as the 1850s. Ever since his days as incumbent at Tidenham, Gloucestershire, Armstrong considered it a moral and spiritual duty of Christians to participate in the building of their own churches. In taking this view he was appealing to the “pattern” laid down by kings David and Solomon in the building of the first temple, insisting that parishioners ought to “aspire to such noble and selfless acts” themselves, especially in “an Age which . . . seems especially called to be a Church-building [one].” John Armstrong, *The Pattern for Church Building: A Sermon Preached in Aid of the Erection of a Chapel of Ease* (London: J. H. Parker, 1852). It was also observed by Bishop Patteson in Melanesia that “a really noble Church is a wonderful instrument of education.” Sohmer, “Christianity without Civilization,” 191–92.

106. There is evidence to suggest that Edward Steere designed and built the first church at Masasi. *Central African Mission: Occasional Paper*, no. 7 (1876), 9–10.

107. Indeed, at the dedication ceremony of the first rebuilding of the church at Masasi in 1881, Maples describes how the whole event was strictly and correctly orchestrated: “When I had got all the people in order, I directed the cross-bearer to proceed slowly forward, we five priests (Janson, Johnson, Clarke, Porter, and self) followed him, striking up ‘The Church’s one foundation:’ behind us walked (1) the baptized, (2) the catechumens, (3) the hearers—arrived in church as we were singing the last verse of our processional hymn, I then shewed these three classes of our men to their respective and clearly marked-off places.” Maples, *Chauncy Maples*, 165.

108. Basil F. L. Clarke, *Anglican Cathedrals outside the British Isles* (London: SPCK, 1958), 40.

109. *Likoma Diocesan Quarterly Paper (LDQP)*, Oct. 1904–July 1905, 113. W. P. Johnson has observed that in the original *Missa Catechumenorum* kept at Likoma it was noted that “Catechumens were admitted to the first part of the Eucharist.” *LQDP*, Oct. 1904–July 1905, 128. I wish to thank Henry Mbaya for bringing this publication to my attention.

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Figures 10, 12–13. G. Alex Bremner